VOYAGE

TO

SOUTH AMERICA,

PERFORMED

BY ORDER OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

IN THE YEARS 1817 AND 1818,

IN THE

Frigate Congress,

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SECRETARY TO THE MISSION.

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A

VOYAGE

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CHAPTER I.

Observations on the Geography and History of the United Provinces.

INCLUDING Patagonia, the viceroyalty of La Plata was the most important in extent of territory of any of the Spanish governments in America. The provinces of Upper alone (added to it in 1778,) are as extensive as New Grenada, and more so than Lower Peru or Lima, and equal, at least, to the whole of the United States east of the Mississippi. La Plata stretches from the northernmost part of the province of Moxos, in twelve degrees south, to Cape Horn; it extends to the Pacific between Lower Peru and Chili, in the province of Atacama; it is bounded by the Portuguese dominions on the north and east, and separated from Peru by the river Desaguadero, or drain of lake Titicaca; on the east it is washed by the Atlantic, and on the west separated from Chili by the Cordilleras. The only portion of this vast territory which is generally believed to be unfavourable to a numerous population, is what is called the pampas of

Buenos Ayres, the interior of Patagonia is but little known, and respecting it, different opinions are entertained. After deducting about one-tenth for these plains, the remainder is equal in fertiliy to the Brazils, or any other part of South America; but, at least, one half enjoys a much more delightful climate; lying in temperate latitudes, or from elevation, possessing the same advantages. If peopled in the same proportion as Great Britain, it would contain at least one hundred millions of souls.

From its great length in proportion to its breadth this country is not to be compared to the Brazils or the United States, or even to New Spain, as respects the dependence and connection of one part with another; and thus, therefore, not so well suited to the establishment of one entire government. Some of its great rivers open communications with immense tracks of country; an advantage hitherto but little regarded. The three greatest of these on the north, are the Paraguay, whose navigation is equal to that of the Mississippi; the Parana, which may be compared to the Missouri as to its length, and the quantity of water gathered by its numerous branches in Brazil; the Pilcomayo, which may be compared to the Ohio, but a larger river, and watering a country still more extensive and fertile; and although known for three hundred years, and its navigable branches flowing through the richest provinces of Peru, it was never ascertained, until a few years ago, whether it afforded a good navigation to the main stream. It is destined, at some future day, to be the channel of an immense inland trade. To the south of the pampas of Buenos Ayres, the Colorada and Rio Negro will afford the means of transporting, by water, the products of the countries which lie along the eastern base of the

Andes, and which, at present, feel the want of a market, from the expence of transportation by land to Buenos Ayres. In the northern part of the viceroyalty, the great southern branches of the Amazon, seem designed by nature to open a communication to the greater part of Upper Peru with the rest of the world; and a century hence, it will be worth disputing the passage down the great river at present closed by Portugal.

In glancing at the map of this country, it will appear to be naturally divided into six different sections: 1. The part which lies on the east side of the Paraguay; 2. That which lies opposite, on the west side of the same river; 3. The track which stretches along the base of the Cordilleras; 4. The pampas of Buenos Ayres; 5. Patagonia; 6. The provinces of Upper Peru. Under the Spanish government, the viceroyalty was divided into eight intendencies, (a term, for which that of the province has been substituted since the revolution;) but one of these, Paraguay, was situated on the east side of the river; on the west side, there were three, Cordova, Salta, and Buenos Ayres; but some of the districts on the east side of the river, were included within the jurisdiction of the latter; the remainder, Potosi, La Paz, Charcas, Cochabamba, are the upper provinces of Peru.* Several of the subordinate districts are now called provinces, and are represented in the congress, according to their population. There were also two audiencias, or courts of appeal, for the other intendencies, that of

* The number of intendencies is variously stated; some speak of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, or Puno, Moxos and Chiquitos; but in the *Guia de forasteros*, a kind of court calendar, these are only subordinate districts.

Charcas for the provinces of Peru and that of Buenos Ayres. Each of the intendencies had their train of officers; civil, ecclesiastical, and military. The ecclesiastical, however, did not follow the political divisions; there was the archbishop of Charcas, and six bishops, or suffragans.

Before entering on the description of the first of these sections, I shall say something of the Paraguay river. It takes its source in the mountains of Matto Grosso; a vast number of streams flow from these towards the main channel; but entering the vast plains which stretch across the continent from the Cordilleras of Peru and Chili, its current suddenly diminishes. In latitude seventeen, there is found the celebrated lake Xarayes; if it can be called a lake, which is nothing more than a periodical inundation of the adjacent country, similar to some of the lakes west of the Mississipi;* but it is of extraordinary magnitude; according to Azara, twenty-five leagues in width and one hundred in length. The heavy rains which fall from the month of November to February, in that quarter, fills the channel in such a manner as to overflow its banks. According to the writer just mentioned, this great river, between sixteen and twenty-two degrees south, has not more than a descent of one foot per mile; from this latitude, until its junction with the Parana, the water is sufficiently confined by its banks; which are in some places tolerably high. Here is a singular instance of a river inundating the adjacent country near its head, and afterwards being confined within its channel. There are other smaller

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* In my "Views of Louisiana," I have described the Catahoula lake, which is precisely similar.

lakes of this description, in the province of Paraguay; and below the Parana there is a very extensive one called Ybera, supposed to be formed by the water which escapes from this immense river. The great number of these overflown grounds, east and west of the main river, and of the numerous tributary streams, are thought to reduce the proportion of habitable surface far below that of Europe.* The Paraguay is navigable for sloops, from latitude sixteen, without the slightest interruption; its channel, although narrow, is deep. Its periodical rise begins about the middle of February, and subsides in July. The water at Assumption is clear and excellent. The Parana is the larger river, but its navigation is interrupted by cataracts and falls. A comparison has been drawn between the great falls of the Parana, those of the Araguay in Brazil, and of Niagara in North America; from which, some idea may be formed of the magnitude of the two first.

Having already spoken of the Banda Oriental, I shall proceed to make a few observations on the province of Paraguay. It is bounded on the north by the dominions of Portugal, on the east by the Parana, and on the west by the river Paraguay; and is about 400 miles in length by 200 in breadth. Excepting the Cordillera of Maracayu in the north, it is almost an unvaried level, but it is generally agreed that the soil is extremely fertile. Nearly one half on the east, along

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* The accounts given by Azara, are contradicted by others in the *Septenario*, which give a much less favourable character to the country. From many interesting particulars respecting the natural configuration of this interesting country, I refer the reader to the author above mentioned, and to the Analectic Review for November, 1818.

the Parana, is still a desert, inhabited by Guarany Indians. On the south, on both sides of the river just mentioned, are the far-famed missions, or as are they were formerly called, the reductions of the Jesuits. The great body of the civilized white and mixed population, scarcely extends a hundred miles from Assumption, the capital. The principal rivers are Xejuy on the north; which rises in the Cordilleras and Tebiquari, which flows from the plains near the Parana, and enters the Paraguay about a hundred miles above the mouth of that river. The climate of this country is delightful, its productions nearly similar to those of the interior provinces of Brazil; abounding in particular in a vast variety of fine woods. When its trade was open, tobacco, rice, cotton, molasses, and sugar of a very superior quality, were exported. The non-intercourse which has been adopted for seven or eight years past, is one of the most singular to be met with in the history of a wealthy and civilized people. Perhaps if any country in the world can be entirely independent of another, it is Paraguay. Whether any intercourse is held with the Portuguese towards the head of the river, is unknown; but it is certain that they will hold no intercourse with any of those below. No person is permitted to enter their territories; I am acquainted with several individuals who endeavoured to procure permission to visit Assumption, but without success. Little or nothing is known of the occurrences among them since the revolution; they are supposed to go on quietly and peaceably under the government of their cabildo and the dictator Francia, a lawyer, who has been at their head for the last five or six years. The population has been variously estimated, from one hundred and fifty to three hundred thousand; including civilized Indians. Their capital Assumption, situated on the left bank of the river, about twelve hundred miles above Buenos

Ayres, contains about fifteen thousand souls; one half of whom are reputed whites, but the greater part of the population of this country is mixed. A remarkable fact is stated with respect to this province, as well as some of the provinces of Peru, that after a few generations, the mixed race becomes fairer than the European Spaniards, and much superior in point of personal beauty. There is said to be very considerable wealth in Paraguay; there are a number of large proprietors of estates, and it is not unlikely that the aristocracy, or great landholders, have unlimited sway over the tame and submissive Guarany, or the neighbouring half-civilized subdued Indians. A certain cast was given to the revolution by the equality of fortunes and conditions at Buenos Ayres, which could not be relished at Assumption, and still less the licentious life of the herdsmen of Banda Oriental.

After the discovery of the river La Plata, by Solis, in 1516, it was neglected until about ten years afterwards; when Sebastian Cabot entered the estuary, in consequence of the mutinous state of those under his command. His orders from Charles V, by whom he was employed, were, to proceed to the South Seas, to discover the famed land of Ophir and Tharsis, and to load his ships there with gold and silver. Cabot explored the country for a considerable distance up the Uruguay and Parana, and then ascended the Paraguay; on his return, he was attacked by a body of Indians, whom he defeated, and took from them a great quantity of gold and silver; generally supposed to have belonged to a Portuguese adventurer of the name of Gardias, who had been killed and robbed by the Indians. Deceived by this circumstance, Cabot was induced to change the name of the river as has been stated. He returned to Spain, where he not only triumphed over his enemies, but in virtue of his exaggerated accounts of the wealth of the

coun[illegible]ries disco[illegible]ered by him, cam[illegible] t[illegible] be considered s[illegible]cond only to Columb[illegible]s as [illegible] discov[illegible]er. The minds [illegible]f the Spa[illegible]iards were inflamed to the highest pitch by [illegible]s seduc[illegible]ive descriptions, and as this happened shortl[illegible] after the close of the wars in Italy, a great number of m[illegible]litary ad[illegible]enturers, of the first families in Spain, eagerly [illegible]ought an [illegible]pportunity of emulating the fortunes of [illegible]Cor[illegible]ez and Pizarro. Pedro Men[illegible]doza, cup-bearer to th[illegible] em[illegible]peror, was appointed to the command of an expedition, with many important pre[illegible]ogatives. Applications from [illegible]persons des[illegible]rous [illegible] engage were so numerous, that he was obliged [illegible]o limit the number. The expedition consisted of fourte[illegible]n ships, a[illegible]d upwards of twelve hundred men; a numbe[illegible] of them o[illegible] the first nobility of Spain.* Towards th[illegible] latter end of February, 1535, the fleet reached the island of St. Gabriel, at the mouth of the Parana.

They next looked out for a suitable situation for a town, and fixed on t[illegible]e present site of the city of Buenos Ayres. T[illegible]eir establishment was so dreadfully har[illegible]ssed here by the neighbouring Indians, and suffered so much from f[illegible]mine, that they were at last compelled to abandon this place, in 1539, and remove to Assumption. They subdu[illegible]d the Payagua, Guar[illegible]ny, and Guiacu[illegible] Indians, who re[illegible]ided on the river. Many of the [illegible]paniards intermar[illegible]ied with the nati[illegible]es, and thus lai[illegible] the foundation o[illegible] a colony, from which many others [illegible]ook their rise in this [illegible]ntry.† The government [illegible]ad [illegible]een

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* "No Spanish col[illegible]ny boasts of [illegible]uch illustrious name[illegible] [illegible]mo[illegible]g its [illegible]ers, and [illegible]he pos[illegible]erity of many of [illegible]hem still subsis[illegible] in Pa[illegible]guay; especi[illegible]ly in [illegible]he capital of that province." Wilc[illegible]ke, p. 229.

† A remarka[illegible]le circ[illegible]stance i[illegible] th[illegible] his[illegible] of [illegible]he American [illegible]tlements, [illegible]as e[illegible]caped [illegible] att[illegible]ti[illegible] o[illegible] [illegible]writers. The new c[illegible]onists which took their rise, or [illegible]ere [illegible]ent out from the [illegible]old settleme[illegible]ts,

entrusted to Ayolas, who had penetrated to Peru in pursuit of discoveries, and was killed by the Indians. In his absence, Irala was left in command, until the arrival of Nunes de Vaca, in 1542, as captain-general of La Plata. The usual incidents of Indian wars fill up the first half century of the settlement; the illusions of gold and silver mines having faded away, they indemnified themselves by enslaving the Indians; at least, reducing them to a state of servitude in their encomiendas, where they were compelled to labour for the conquerors. The affairs of the colony were conducted by Nunes de Vaca, with wisdom and success; but, unfortunately, a difference arose between him and Irala, who, it is said, was jealous of his superior merit. At this distance from Spain, intrigues and machinations might be carried on, which would be easily detected and speedily arrested in the vicinity of the throne. Nunes had greater popularity, but Irala had numerous partisans, who calculated on advancing their own fortunes by his success. The rivalry of ambitious men had, generally, a tendency to elevate the colonists in these times to much greater importance than the inhabitants of Spain, where there was no such thing as looking for partisans among the people. Irala procured Nunes de Vaca to be arrested and sent to Spain on feigned charges; after which, he seized the reins of power. Although improperly raised to this station, by various turns of fortune, he was confirmed in his authority, when, in reality, his conduct deserved punishment and disgrace. During a long absence, exploring the

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...rd at once to look to Spain as the parent stock. Humboldt, in speaking of the colonists, having forgot the parent state, makes an allowance for this circumstance. The immediate parents of the new settlements, were in America, the remote ancestry across the ocean.

upper part of the river and adjacent country, he was supposed to have shared the fate of Ayola; and, in consequence, two opposite factions declared themselves in Assumption, in favour of rival pretenders to the government; the distance from the centre of power, rendering it utterly impossible to provide speedily the remedy for evils like these. The people elected Diego Ebreu, but on the unexpected return of Irala, he was compelled to fly with a few of his followers to the interior, where he was killed. Irala, at first, proved a merciless tyrant, and indulged the soldiery in the most licentious practices; but what is somewhat singular, he afterwards, in a great measure, atoned for his misconduct and usurpations, by a wise and useful administration, and died generally esteemed and respected.

The encomiendas had been introduced into Paraguay by the conquerors, and if we examine strictly, it may be found, that the boasts of Azara, of the Spaniards having done more to preserve their Indians than other nations, may not be so well founded; *they were reduced to servitude*, and placed under the controul of masters, while the Indians in our country, were permitted to retain their hunting life; and therefore, disappeared with the deer and buffalo. Perhaps they were possessed of a less haughty spirit, or had already been broken to subjection; they certainly bore a much stronger resemblance to the barbarous nations of the old world, than to the North American Indians. I doubt whether it would have been practicable to have subdued any of our Indian tribes by force, and then have compelled them to plant themselves down around the conqueror in a state of servitude! This was the mode in which the conquests of the Incas were effected, and we find in the history of Paraguay, that about the year 1557 forty thousand Indians were *reduced* in the province of Guayara, near the Parana,

in the direction where the Jesuit missions were afterwards established.* Nicholas de Chaves, about the same time, in what is called the country of the *Chiquitos*, founded a town called Santa Cruz de la Sierra and reduced sixty thousand Indians of the nation of the Moxos. In Tucuman, it was found, as early as the year 1558, that eighty thousand Indians paid tribute to the king. From these facts, we may form some idea of the extent to which the system of encomiendas must have been carried, even in these countries, at an early period of the conquest. Their abuses, however, were gradually diminished by the termination of the estates, by the repeated orders of the Spanish Court (at first disregarded), and, finally, by the gradual improvement in their condition and intermixture with the Spaniards. But the first conquest was not always enough; repeated attempts were made by the Indians to regain their freedom in the neighborhood of Assumption, and in the province of Guayra, which served only to rivet their chains more effectually, until they were finally incorporated and amalgamated with the conquerors, although forming an inferior and baser part of the composition.†

The arrival of the Jesuits in this country, is an important era in its history. This took place in 1586. The first twenty or thirty years were taken up in desultory excursions among the unconquered nations, and in humanizing those who had been reduced. They, at first,

* The city founded here was called Ciudad Real, and was one of those afterwards destroyed by the Paulistas; who carried away the Indians into a more [illegible] captivity.

† Their numbers rapidly diminished in the first period of the conquest, in consequence of the oppressions practised by the conquerors, among whom the natives were [illegible], in order that they might make the most of their labour.

gained the confidence of the encomenderos, as well as the affection of the Indians; but gradually became objects of hatred to the former, in consequence of their frequent interferences in favour of the latter.* The Jesuits perceiving that something of more importance might be accomplished, by having fixed and permanent establishments, obtained a special order, by which, they were permitted to bring the wild Indians from the woods, and collect them into villages; provided no other means were resorted to but persecution. Hitherto, the sword had always attended the cross, and the conversion of the Indians was a mere pretext to reduce them to servitude. As an encouragement to this experiment, they were exempted from the immediate control of the Spanish colonial authorities. The principal obstacle encountered in the first instance, were the hostility of the owners of encomiendas, and their partisans, and the attacks of the Paulistas, which commenced as soon as the missions became numerous and flourishing. The Indians, themselves were with difficulty persuaded that the whole was not a contrivance of the fathers to collect them together, in order that they might be carried off into slavery. It is calculated that, in the course of two years, from 1630 to 1631, upwards of sixty thousand, were kidnapped by the Paulistas. The missions were removed to the west of the Uruguay and Parana, but greatly diminished, as many of the Indians conceived themselves more safe by dispersing in small parties through the woods. In the year 1639, the Jesuits obtained permission to procure fire-

* "The Jesuits continued to plead, with unshaken constancy, the cause of the oppressed Indians; and thus clashing with the [illegible] prejudices, and interests of the Spaniards they subjected themselves to much obloquy, and, in some instances, to ill treatment." Wilcocke, p. 81.

arms, to enable their Indians to defend themselves from their merciless assailants. From this time, they enjoyed tranquillity, and rapidly increased; in 1742, the missions amounted to twenty-nine, containing each from one to five thousand souls.

To trace the history of this singular republic, or to enter into an examination of its merits, would greatly exceed the limits of these cursory remarks. Much has been said both in favour and against it; the charges usually brought against the Jesuits of Paraguay, appear to be unfounded; their ambitious designs, and the defects of their system, are the only remaining topics of those, who think unfavourably of the policy adopted by them in America. Southey, in his history of Brazil, has examined the reasons on both sides with perfect impartiality, and he acquits the Jesuits of every charge, except that of their designedly retaining the Indians in a state of perpetual pupilage, instead of fitting them to engage in any intercourse with civilized nations. In this, however, the Jesuits might be perfectly sincere; and we ought not to say with too much confidence, that they were wrong. They certainly succeeded in establishing such a government as was imagined by theorists, but not supposed capable of being reduced to practice; they were actuated by the same views of human nature with the Moravians, and other societies of that description. It is admitted on all hands, that a degree of innocence and relative happiness prevailed among the Jesuits proselytes, far surpassing that of any other missions: that this happiness did not continue, was not the fault of the Jesuits, for it only ceased with their expulsion, and when the Indians became corrupted and rendered miserable by intercourse with the Spaniards. When we take into view the original condition of these very Indians, their stupidity and their *cannibalism*, and compare them

to the stat[e] to which they were broug[h]t by the Jesuits, we cannot but regard their [e]xertions with the highest pr[a]ise. W[h]en we co[m]pare, also, the condition of those In[d]ians [s]aid to be [c]onverted and civilized by the S[pani]ards to those [o]f the Jesuit missions, [w]e have a more [just c]riterion o[f] their respective merits. Because the Jesuits have do[n]e much, it does not follow that they are to b[e] conden[med] for *not do[i]ng* what [s]ome one would imagine they had [i]n [t]heir po[w]er to acc[o]mpli[s]h. As to their pr[o]jects of ambition of extending their power over the co[n]tinent, [t]his could only be in embryo, as it would require ages, perhaps centuries, before they [c]ould venture to manifest such designs. At the time o[f] their expulsion, both the in[h]abitants of [Pa]raguay an[d] of Brazil, and per[ha]ps of S[o]uth Americ[a] gene[ra]lly, m[a]nifested a deadly h[o]stility towards them; it mi[gh]t almost with as much pr[o]priety be said, that th[e] society of the Harmonists, cherish the design of maki[n]g themselves the sovereig[n]s of the United States. The power o[f] the Jesuits w[as] magnifie[d] both by themselves and t[h]e Spaniards, [for v]ery opposite, but very obvious reasons. The Je[sui]ts had ma[d]e other es[t]ablishment[s] of a similar [n]ature, [and], especia[l]ly, in Chiquitos; but [t]hey were se[p]arat[e]d by such vast tracks of coun[tr]y a[s] to be incapa[b]le [o]f acting in concert, or affordin[g] m[ut]ual assistance and support.

Th[e] hostili[ty to t]he J[es]uits w[as the] real ca[use of] the viole[nt] dissent[io]ns w[h]ich [p]revail[e]d in As[su]mp[t]ion. The [o]bstinate co[n]test [b]etween the b[i]shop Carde[n]as and [t]he g[o]vernor Hen[o]strosa, by [w]hi[ch t]he people [w]er[e] di[v]ided int[o] fa[c]tions [a]nd engag[e]d in [ci]vil broils, i[s relat]ed at consid[er]a[b]le len[g]th [by] the [h]istori[a]ns of this [co]un[t]ry, and bear [a] strong r[e]sem[b]lan[c]e to some of th[e] in[t]e[s]tine feuds of [t]he pett[y st]at[es of] Italy. Th[e]se occu[rr]e[n]ces [a]re impor[t]ant to be [c]onsi[d]ered in estimatin[g] the ch[a]rac-

ter of the South Americans; they exhibit an essential difference from any of the subordinate governments of the peninsula. The revolt of Antequera about the beginning of the last century, at Assumption, was of a much more serious and decisive nature than the ambitious designs of the Jesuits, whose enemy he was. It is not generally known, that revolutionary movements as early as the year 1717, (precisely similar to those which have recently taken place,) gave rise to a republican form of government at Assumption, and with its commune, or junta, and defender; a form of government varying but little from that which now prevails, maintained itself, in defiance, not only of the neighbouring provinces, but of the king of Spain himself.* In a bloody battle they defeated the royal forces, dragged the royal banner in the dust through the streets, and chaunted *te deum* for the victory. The incidents and the details of this revolution, are interesting and curious, and, I think, fully prove that the South Americans, in their struggles for independence, are to be considered [illegible] light entirely different from European Spanish provin[illegible] When the republic of Assumption was finally put down it was thought necessary to make severe examples, [illegible]

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* "Mum[illegible]o was, or pretended to be, versed in the law, and with a bold[illegible] raised [illegible] popularity, and [illegible]ence su[illegible]d to the turbulence of the times, he promulgated the levelling doctrines of the present age, and asserted as a maxim which had never been contradicted, that the authority of the people, or of the *commune*, as he expressed himself, was paramount even to that of the king himself. The [illegible]eignty of the people thus openly preached in the capital of a colony of one of the most despotic and bigotted courts of Europe, nearly a century ago, is a phenomenon in politics which, it is believed, has escaped the researches of historians and philosophers." Wilcocke, p. 325.

in some measure, to subdue the spirit of the country. It is a remarkable fact, that revolutions of this nature, recur at distant intervals in the same countries, if they ever recur at all. The most decided revolutionary spirit is manifest in those parts of South America which have heretofore been the most tranquil. That this idea is not altogether fanciful, I might instance the case of Scotland; which, from being the most restless, has become the most submissive of the British empire. Revolutions are like the appearance of comets—they must pass off to recruit their fires." Hence, perhaps, the barrenness of incident in the history of Paraguay since that period, and her timid, selfish, and narrow minded policy during the present revolution; while Buenos Ayres, which previously had boasted of never having disobeyed the royal orders, and of her title of *muy leal*, (very faithful,) conferred on her by the royal patent, is now the blazing revolutionary comet of the south.

The country on the south west of the Paraguay, may be regarded as a vast wilderness, from the very head of the river to the vicinity of Sta Fee, three hundred miles above Buenos Ayres. The country of the Chiquitos, spreads from the right bank of the Paraguay, which separates it from the Portuguese possessions, towards the provinces of Upper Peru, and extends down towards the Pilcomayo, opposite the province of Paraguay. As this country is included in those of Upper Peru, I shall pass it by for the present.* The name of Chiquitos was formerly given to the country as far south as Mendoza, on

* Some of the earlier adventurers penetrated through Chiquitos to Peru, but had to encounter great difficulties both from the savages and the nature of the country. It is owing to this that the Spaniards have never attempted to penetrate into Paraguay in this direction, since the commencement of the revolution.

account of a nation of Indians, whose different tribes were scattered along this space, as the Guaranys were on the other side of the river. Below the Chiquitos, on each side of the Pilcomayo, and opposite Paraguay, is the Gran Chaco, a wilderness inhabited only by Indians. This is supposed to be a fine country, and every way suited to the establishment of extensive settlements. In point of extent it may be compared to the states of Ohio, and Indiana, and equally fertile. The Jesuits attempted at a very early period to convert the Indians here, but without success; the Spanish settlements were also destroyed, since which the Indians have remained in undisturbed possession, and not unfrequently issue from their forests to annoy the settlers of the neighbouring countries on the west, Tarija, Jujuy, Salta, Tucuman, and even as low down as Cordova and Sta Fe, in consequence of which, a number of small military posts, or presidios, have to be kept up. The principal rivers are the Pilcomayo and Vermejo, which rise in the provinces of Peru. The country through which they flow, is probably equal in every respect to that on the other side of the Paraguay. A citizen of Salta named Cornejo, about the year 1790, descended the Vermejo a thousand miles to its mouth; he found the navigation good, and the adjacent country wooded and fertile. The plains which lie between this river and Pilcomayo, are called Llanos de Manso, a person of the name of Manso having perished here in an attempt to form a settlement. As these rivers communicate with the richest provinces of Peru, their navigation must at some future day, become of immense importance. Previous to the revolution, the produce of Tucuman had begun to be transported down the Vermejo.

The track of country south of the Vermejo, or as the river is here called, [illegible] Grande, is extremely flat, and

for the greater part composed of pampas, especially towards the river Dolce. This river, after a course of seven or eight hundred miles, is lost in a shallow lake, from the flatness of the country, not having sufficient descent to enable it to reach the main stream. It rises in Tucuman, and notwithstanding the circumstance before stated, and the great defect of all the southern rivers, in the diminution of their waters in the dry seasons, I have no doubt, considerable use might be made of it for the transportation of produce.

Between the track of country of which I have just spoken, and the extensive pampas of Buenos Ayres, is the chain of settlements from Jujuy to the bay of La Plata, most of which are situated on each side of the great road from the capital to the upper provinces. I must refer the reader to geographical works for a minute description of these provinces, as it is my wish to avoid, as much as possible, what is within the reach of most persons. The first settlements in this quarter, were made by the conquerors of Peru, about the year 1549. The place fixed upon in the first instance, was Santiago del Estero, at present a decayed town; four other cities were established in succession, Tucuman, Cordova, Salta, and Jujuy. The Indians in this quarter, had been held in partial subjection to the Incas, and were therefore easily induced to submit. The jurisdiction was afterwards claimed by the governor of Chili, but in the year 1561, Tucuman was annexed to the viceroyalty of Peru, and subjected to the audiencia of Charcas. Like all new settlements in America, the territory of Tucuman was, at first, of vast extent; and, from time to time, diminished by subdivisions and the erection of new provinces, as we lay off new states and counties. The city of Salta, was founded in the year 15[..], and made the capital of an intendency by royal *cedula*, in 1783.

The population of this town and immediate vicinity, is estimated at twenty thousand souls, and of the province, about sixty thousand. It was formerly the capital of the intendency; of which, the present Tucuman was a subordinate district. Since the revolution, these two are distinct members of the confederacy. The population of both cities, is highly spoken of by Helms; and during the present revolution, they have shewn great devotion to the cause. The principal source of wealth of Salta, is its fine pastures; where the mules from the provinces of Cordova and Tucuman, are suffered to repose during the winter, previously to their being driven to Peru. The agriculture, at present, but little exceeds its own consumption; but, there is no doubt, must increase very much, as soon as the navigation of the rivers shall be properly opened. The embarrassments in the trade with Peru, have, of course, had a very injurious effect upon the four cities whose chief wealth consisted in the transit trade from Buenos Ayres; but this loss would be greatly counterbalanced by the necessary consequence of independence. These countries have the same products as the province of Paraguay, and possess a climate more agreeable and mild. Both the neighbourhood of Salta and Jujuy, are said to possess valuable mines, which are not worked.

The next city on the road to Buenos Ayres, is Tucuman; of whose foundation I have already spoken. It is described by Helms to be "a pleasant little town, surrounded by groves of citron, orange, fig, and pomegranate trees, situated on a branch of the river Dolce." The population of the town and province, is estimated at sixty thousand souls, and the inhabitants have shewn the same attachment to the cause of independence with those of Salta. The extent of the agricultural, or settled population, is circumscribed in the same manner as in

the provinces of which I have spoken. There are also grazing farms like those of Buenos Ayres, but of much smaller dimensions; and the gauchos are far from being so savage and unsocial, arising from the circumstance of the population being much less scattered. I was shewn a very good map of Tucuman, by a member of the congress; and what I was most struck with was the number of small villages into which the inhabitants were distributed. Tucuman is well supplied with wood, and one of its principal branches of industry, is the transportation of merchandise by waggons as far as Salta. It has some manufacture of leather, which is carried to Buenos Ayres; but rather of an inferior quality.

St. Jago del Estero, situated on the river Dolce, contains, at present, about two thousand inhabitants, chiefly of the mixed race; who have the character of indolence and laziness. The country in the neighbourhood, is covered with thick woods, and is supposed to be somewhat unhealthy; the produce is the same as that of Salta and Tucuman, but the principal cause of its decay, is the removal of the seat of government to the latter, and the change in the channel of inland carrying trade. Since the revolution, it has been erected into an independent province; but disturbances have several times broken out, which required to be repressed by force. Towards the mountains of Rioja, there are extensive plains, too deficient in water, however, to be well suited to pasturage. Cotton, indigo, cochineal, sugar, wheat, rice, and barley, will be among the articles of future export.

The last of these provinces, is Cordova. The town of Cordova is of some importance: it was founded in 1573; the population amounts to about six thousand, and that of the province to seventy-five thousand. Its territory consists more of open plains [illegible] than the provinces just

mentioned; the climate is extremely pleasant, and the soil produces cotton, corn, and a great variety of fruits; it has extensive pastures, and raises a great number of mules for the purpose of supplying Peru. The number of cattle and sheep raised in this province, exceeds that of any I have named; the inhabitants are generally more industrious than is usual in these countries; they manufacture very considerable quantities of coarse cotton and woollen cloths; with which they supply the upper provinces of Peru. Although situated inland, its produce might be transported to market by means of the river Tercero, which is navigable with very little interruption. By means of this river, the rich productions of Cordova might be brought to Buenos Ayres, while, at present, they perish for want of a market, as it costs almost as much to transport them to Santa Fee by land, as they could be sold for. There is perhaps no country in the world whose natural advantages have been so much neglected as this; if the same policy and spirit had prevailed here, as in the United States, these countries, settled for so many hundred years, would have been known by their products, in all the different markets of Europe. There are said to be some valuable copper-mines, but they have never yet been worked to any great extent. The seminaries of learning, which have long been established in Cordova, have given a more literary cast to the character of the inhabitants. Nearly all those who have embraced the learned professions, received the rudiments of their education at this place; hence, it has shed a friendly influence over the other provinces. The population is more submissive, and less enthusiastic in the cause than in the provinces before mentioned, but at the same time, more industrious and peaceable. Some disturbances have taken place in the city of Cordova, occasioned by persons of desperate fortunes and charac-

ter, although not of a serious nature, and not extensively participated in by the people. The probability is, that the number of those who take part in the subordinate movements of the revolution, is small. It is supposed there is a party here, friendly to the people of Santa Fee, but composed of the kind of people I have described.

Each of these provinces is of course subdivided into subordinate districts, and in some instances, as in that of Catamarca, in the province of Salta, of considerable importance. The connection between Jujuy, Salta, Tucuman, St. Jago del Estero and Cordova, is very intimate; they are, in fact, the links which form the chain of intercourse between Buenos Ayres and Upper Peru. Their population is less than that of Delaware, Maryland, and New Jersey, during our revolutionary war.* They have heretofore furnished the chief supply of live stock, cattle, mules, and horses, to the mine countries, which, together with the carrying trade, enabled them to acquire considerable wealth; but the principal fortunes are said to have been much diminished in the course of the revolution. The old Spaniards in Tucuman and Cordova, who declined joining the cause, were compelled to pay liberally for their neutrality; the monasteries were also heavily taxed, as the monks were in general Europeans. In case of the establishment of their independence, they will turn their attention towards the Indian nations on the east, and become masters of the Gran Chaco, where they will find room enough to form provinces, equal to several of our largest states.

The track of country along the eastern base of the

* In the third volume of the *Semanario*, there is a series of well written essays, on the geography and resources of these provinces. They would be worth translating for some of our literary journals.

Andes, from Mendoza to the province of Atacama, is a valley formed by a range of mountains, beginning near the Punta de San Luis, and running nearly parallel to the Cordillera, at the distance of two hundred miles, and about eight hundred in length. It joins the Andes in latitude twenty-one degrees south. This immense valley is nearly flat, and, excepting near the base of the mountains, resembles the pampas. There are several considerable lakes in this valley, the largest of which, is that of Guanacache, in the neighbourhood of Mendoza.* It is separated from Chili, on one side by the Andes, and from Cordova and Tucuman on the other, by the range of mountains before mentioned. The distance of these provinces from market, will always be a great drawback, on their advancement in population. The country immediately at the base of the Cordillera, is said in general, to bear some resemblance to Chili, though inferior in point of climate. It was only added to the vice-royalty about the same time with the upper provinces of Peru. Mendoza, the capital of Cuyo, is said to be a considerable town, and surrounded by a well cultivated country. It has extensive meadows, watered by numerous artificial canals, like those of Chili. The grapes of this province are exceedingly fine; the raisins brought from Mendoza, are equal to any imported into the United States from Europe. Their principal export are wine and brandy, and the most lucrative employment is the carrying trade from Buenos Ayres to Chili. Goods are brought to Mendoza in carts, or waggons, and then transported across the mountains on mules. The population of Cuyo amounts to seventy-five thousand, and

* The lake of Titicaca is situated very much in the same manner between the Andes and a chain of mountains in Upper Peru.

bears a high character for industry and sobriety; none has been more uniformly devoted to the patriot cause. There are said to be several valuable mines in this country, but not extensively worked. Four hundred miles to the north, is the town and province of Rioja, formerly under the government of Tucuman, at present one of the provinces represented in the congress, as well as Cuyo, San Luis and San Juan.*

There are various passages across the Andes, all extremely difficult except one to the south, into the province of Valdivia. This passage has been disused for many years, on account of the hostility of the Indians, but under a vigorous government, it would not be difficult to re-establish it.† There is another pass several hundred miles to the south of Mendoza, in the nation of the Puelches, and leads across into a populous country at los Angeles on the head of the Biobio, and which communicates directly with Talcaguano, the best port of Chili. The passage across to Valdivia is still better; it is said that it can be effected by carts, but the distance to the south is too great, and the Indian nations who reside along the Cordillera, as has been stated, are said to be hostile.

In giving this hasty sketch of the countries on both sides of the Paraguay river, of the connecting provinces between Buenos Ayres and Upper Peru, and of the province of Cuyo, along the base of the Andes, now divided

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* On what principle the new provinces were established I am not able to say, unless it be on account of their having a cabildos.

† The different passes across the Cordillera, from lat. 27, S. to 40, that is, from Copiapo to Valdivia, are first that of Copiapo to Riojo, of Coquimbo, Combarbala, Aconcagua, Dehesa de Santiago, Maipo, Curico, Boquetas de Maule, Antuco, Villarica, &c.

into several provinces under the new government, I have purposely avoided a variety of particulars to be found in geographical works. With respect to the boundaries, I have been silent, because in truth, they never had any even under the royal government, as it sufficed in most instances to name the capital or chief town, to know its dependencies, and when they were often separated by desarts of hundreds of miles.* Some inconvenience was no doubt experienced, notwithstanding, from the want of fixed boundaries, and one of the subjects specified for the deliberations of the congress of Tucuman, was the establishment of limits between the different provinces; a work of too great magnitude to be executed except in time of peace. It might perhaps have been worth the trouble, to make some estimate of the proportion in which the different provinces have suffered, as well as Buenos Ayres, in the hope of bettering their situation. If the great source of wealth of that

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* The folly of amusing one's self with drawing fanciful lines across the map, and counting the square acres of each province, may be seen by the following extract. "Our territory is almost unknown, we have done little more than open three roads or communications, and a few minor ramifications of them; the first are those of Paraguay, Chili, and Lima, through Peru, the others are Catamarca, Sta Cruz, Moxos, and others of less importance. Of what exists on the other side of those, we possess but very imperfect accounts. This ignorance is the cause of the slow progress of population, and the languor of rural establishments, and of the inactivity of commerce. We are even ignorant of the limits of the viceroyalty; those of the provinces are in the like condition; jurisdictions are often confounded; as long as we are ignorant of these particulars, we must unavoidably err in our calculations and conjectures."—*Semanario*, 1 vol. p. 111. The descriptions of Azara, written long before these volumes, are certainly too general. I am satisfied that this vast country is yet very imperfectly known.

city, has been nearly closed by the state of the upper provinces of Peru, those also possessing the inland carrying trade have suffered as the necessary consequence; and in addition, the trade in stock to Peru has been temporarily diminished. The revolution has brought some advantages in the increased price of articles of produce, of the remotest districts, which before were worth little or nothing; while European merchandise has fallen every where. The *province* of Buenos Ayres has probably suffered least, from its favourable situation, its vicinity to a market; but the city, as a commercial place, has experienced very severe trials. Since the Banda Oriental has been in the possession of the Portuguese, Buenos Ayres is the only sea port of the patriots in the bay of La Plata. Something has been said with respect to the town of Santa Fee, three hundred miles up the river, as a commercial rival. It is at present but a small town without commercial capital, and too high up the river for sea vessels to ascend with facility, and has no peculiar advantages over other places lower down, where towns might be established, particularly Rosario, at the mouth of the Tercero. I notice it at present, merely to refute the charge of a monopolizing spirit alleged against Buenos Ayres, which in reality occupies a position on the river, similar to that of New Orleans, on the Mississippi, while that of Santa Fee is not unlike Natches. It would be proper also to remark, that the provinces represented in the congress, do not in every instance, send the number of representatives to which they are entitled, according to their quota of one for every fifteen thousand; which arises from their unwillingness to bear the expences of the full number, as every province pays its own representatives. It is also proper to state, that in the trade carried on across the Andes of Chili, the two governments have mutually

agreed to exact no duties, by which, it is said that of Buenos Ayres, is the gainer; and this circumstance, which would otherwise have been taken for proof of their being on the most friendly terms, has been laid hold of by narrow minds, incapaple of any but partial and party views, to prove the charge of a monopolizing spirit in Buenos Ayres. That such a spirit does exist I have no doubt, but it is the same that prevails in all cities and in all countries.

I shall now proceed to speak of the celebrated pampas of Buenos Ayres, one of the most extensive tracks of the kind perhaps in the world. It is a trapezium, or irregular figure, of about two hundred thousand square miles; bounded on the east by the south Atlantic and the river La Plata, by the river Tercero and the frontiers of Cordova on the north, on the west by the mountains of Cordova and the frontiers of San Luis, and on the south by the Colorado. The longest line is from Cape St. Antonio to San Luis, about nine hundred miles; from the mouth of the Tercera to that of the Colorado, the distance is about six hundred miles. I have merely traced the great body of the pampas, for it is to be observed, that a great proportion of the territories of Santa Fee and Cordova, consist of plains or pampas, possessing many of the characteristics of this track: the same thing may be said of the track between the Andes and the chain of mountains I have before described, with this difference, that there is a zone running north and south, and extending even to Peru, called the Travesia, and, on an average, a hundred miles in width, which is even worse than the sandy deserts of Atacama, on the Pacific. The whole of the track I have described, may be regarded as a level plain, for there is no where an elevation exceeding five hundred feet, but of a soil astonishingly fertile. The great defect is the want of

water and running streams, and what water there is, invariably brackish; cisterns, however, might be constructed, and in the season of rains, a sufficient quantity could be well collected for ordinary use, and even for the supply of cattle, at such times as the water in the plains entirely fail.* The Salado, which rises near the centre of the pampas, and said to be, at times, connected with the Rio Quinto, divides these plains into two unequal parts; that to the north, which is the least, is not so deficient in water, as it is traversed by several smaller streams that fall into La Plata. On the borders of the Salado, there are some elevated grounds, but this river receives no navigable streams, and affords, itself, but little navigation; although, after the heavy rains which fall in these plains, it might be considered a large river. The plains on the south side, extending to the Colorado, are not so well known, but are ascertained to be without water, excepting the salt lakes or ponds, which are evaporated in the season of drought, leaving immense quantities of salt encrusted on the surface, similar to the salines of the Arkansas. Several hundred carts are often employed in transporting salt from these places; it is an article of some importance in the trade of Buenos Ayres. The pampas Indians, formerly the terror of the settlements, but at present perfectly harmless, inhabit the pampas, and carry on a small traffic with the whites.

These unsheltered plains, are, at times, parched with excessive heat, and at others, drenched with heavy

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* In some parts of Louisiana, cistern water alone is used by the inhabitants. The Red River and the Arkansas, at times, are both brackish. The plains of the Arkansas, the salt prairies, are similar to those of the pampas, but on a smaller scale.

rains. Excepting a few willows along the water courses, or peach orchards that have been planted, and an occasional umbu, they are entirely bare of wood. They are clothed, however, with a most luxuriant herbage. It has been thought by the ignorant, and those wanting enterprise, that forests cannot be cultivated in this country; either because the winds, or pamperos, are so powerful as to tear them up by the roots, or because some one has fancied that the soil is incumbent on a rock so near the surface, as to prevent the roots from penetrating; but actual experiments are the best refutation of these absurd theories. In a well-written paper in the Seminario, the affirmative is saisfactorily proved, and several important experiments are cited; particularly that of D. Juan Augus[illegible] Videla, near Magdalena; the first person in the country who thought of planting trees, and who had completely succeeded. Peach trees, willows, poplars, fruit trees of every kind, and the umbu, a large and beautiful tree, are planted with success every where; and there is no reason why the locust, pride of China, and others of a similar kind, should not succeed, even if the oak, hickory, and walnut, cannot. Both Dr. Baldwin and Mr. Bonpland, were decidedly of opinion that trees could be planted with success.* Nothing but the want of national spirit,

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* The following is an extract of a letter from Dr. Baldwin, in answer to one on this subject:—"With respect to the pampas, or extensive naked plains, which stretch off in every direction from Buenos Ayres, and which, it has been supposed by many, will not admit of being timbered, I have only to remark, that this opinion does not appear to be well founded. As far as experiments have been fairly made, they have been successful, and the olive, the Lombardy poplar, and the pride of India (Mehia Azedarach,) already flourish there. I am happy further to state, that Mr. Bonpland, a naturalist

inseparable from colonies, has hitherto prevented these improvements from being carried on extensively. The change produced by the cultivation of forests, or even of orchards of smaller trees, is immense; these fertile plains might be made to support a population equal to any country of the same extent, in the world; and instead of being, as they are at present, only occupied by immense herds of horned cattle, droves of wild horses, vast numbers of wild dogs, deer, ostrich, hares, armadillas, and a variety of other animals, would be filled with towns and villages, supported by agriculture. If in the hands of our countrymen, I entertain no doubt that this would be effected; that it should not have been the case heretofore, is not at all surprising, when the inhabitants of the country had no certainty of being able to dispose of their surplus produce. Exact surveys and good maps will be the first thing to be executed, when the Americans, shall have firmly fixed their independence; and from its extent of territory and capacity, I sincerely believe, that the province of Buenos Ayres alone, in the course of half a century, would become a very considerable nation. We have yet only seen these people in a war for their existence; it is therefore, premature to form an opinion of them. The welcome reception of strangers will, in time, free them from a thousand difficulties under which they labour at present; it is idle to talk of their not being able to settle down in a sober and rational

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and philosopher of the highest repute, agrees with me in [illegible], in relation to the cultivation of forest trees upon those plains. With respect to the quality of the soil, as far as I have had an opportunity of observing, it is a deep and rich alluvial, and by no means interrupted, (as you have suggested,) by any stratum of *indurated clay of the consistence of brick.*"

government, suited to their situations and exigencies, although it may not be exactly like ours.

Before I proceed to speak of the province of Buenos Ayres, I shall make some observations on Patagonia. This vast track of country, the greater part of which resembles the climate of our own, was dependant on the viceroyalty; and is properly to be considered a part of it. For two hundred years after the establishment of the frontier by Garray, who rebuilt the city, the line remained nearly stationary; but since the revolution, has been extended upwards of a hundred miles. The Seminario, as early as 1802, recommended the extension as far as the Rio Negro; which could be defended with more ease than even the present line, by seizing and fortifying the passes through which the southern Indians make their way into the pampas, for the purpose of stealing cattle. The writer states the number of Indians to the southward, to be much less than is generally supposed; and that since the treaty of 1784, the settlements have been but little disturbed by them. This frontier would include a large track of country between the Colorado and the Rio Negro; which is but little known, but is probably, in some degree, free from the defects of the naked pampas. Beyond the last mentioned river, the country is entirly unknown; but it appears to be the opinion of those who are best informed, that it by no means deserves the character usually bestowed upon it. It may be both well supplied with water and wood, and its climate has been defended by Molina, with learning and ingenuity, from the common imputation; he satisfactorily proves, that the fact related by Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander, does not warrant the inference usually drawn from it, although as a phœnomenon, it is not easily accounted for. It

would certainly be very extraordinary that so sudden a change should take place in the climate, from the fortieth degree of south latitude, (which is well known to agree with thirty-five of North America,) to the fifty-fifth, as to be as cold as Norway. It is probable, that where the continent suddenly narrows, and in the neighbourhood of very high mountains, the country may be subject to occasional snow storms at all seasons, without extending a very considerable distance to the north.

I have already said something of the province of Buenos Ayres. Previous to the revolution, the city, beside being the capital of the new vice-royalty, was the seat of government of an intendency, of which Monte Video, Santa Fee, Corrientes, &c. were subordinate districts; but it is now, as the reader will have perceived, confined to the immediate jurisdiction of its own cabildo. The population is variously estimated, from one hundred and five to one hundred and twenty thousand souls; of whom, about one half reside in the city. It contributed formerly, as well as Santa Fee and Cordova, to supply the upper provinces with mules, but has been somewhat more agricultural; and the inhabitants of the country in the neighbourhood, are, probably, better informed than those of the interior, from their greater opportunities. There are many small land holders and cultivators, rents are hardly known, and the produce of their fields has generally increased in value. They are greatly devoted to the cause of independence, and no people seemed to me more national. Industry is increasing with the introduction of a variety of artificial wants, and the desire of imitating those who are settled among them. A serious evil is, however, complained of in the want of inclosures, and the consequent exposure of their crops to be de-

stroyed by the cattle. The raising of stock has hitherto occupied their chief attention, to the neglect of culture. Nothing can surpass the fertility of the soil, and there is no kind of doubt but that cotton and sugar can be cultivated here, as well as on the banks of the Mississippi; these would at once, be sources of great agricultural wealth. Some emigration has already taken place to this country from Europe; every encouragement is held out; the sober, industrious German, especially, would do well here.

The town of Santa Fee is, in many respects, favourably situated for trade, but it is too high up to be the emporium of the countries situated on the river, and its branches; the trade of the Parana, is carried on by the means of small sloops; but the difficulty of ascending the river, is much less than is experienced in the Mississippi. The principal trade at present, is in the herb of Paraguay; which is brought to this place in order to be transported to the interior, on account of merchants in Buenos Ayres. The products also of Cordova, and some of the interior districts, are brought here and carried down to Buenos Ayres, to be exported. Its situation is somewhat remarkable; between two rivers that fall into the Parana; and, besides, fortified by art. The troops of the congress, although in possession of the adjacent country, and the whole of the district, as well as the village on the opposite side of the river, have not been able to take possession of the town.* The real cause of dissention between this city and the others, is stated by Funes, to be a desire of independence from the colo-

* By the recent treaty, the troops of the United Provinces are to be withdrawn.

n[illegible]l government, to which it was subject, as well as from the king of Spain; a kind of anarchy much dreaded, and which has done more than any thing else to retard the revolution. The same reasoning which justified independence from the king of Spain, was made use of by the local demagogues to produce a dissolution of every tie. What would be the effect, we may readily conceive, by supposing every county, town, or village to have set up for itself in our country, during our struggle for independence. To satisfy by reasoning, that such a course was wrong, was not easy, when in opposition to what was so flattering to their pride. Here is the great obstacle the patriots have uniformly encountered, and must continue to encounter; and which arises, not from the character of the people, or the want of disposition to join in the cause, but from the nature of the colonial system. If Spain could have foreseen the effect of these little independent sovereignties, she would have augmented them, for they have been of more service to her than all her armies: if she ever conquers America, it must be by piece-meal, by breaking up and dividing the viceroyalties, intendencies, and the subordinate districts.

For nearly two hundred miles before the Parana enters the bay, or river La Plata, it is separated into several channels, forming large islands, which are covered with wood, and said to be overflowed in the season of the floods; but excepting on some of the low grounds, the banks of the river are above their reach. The entrance of the Uruguay is more spacious, and was mistaken by Solis for the main river. From the city to the mouth of the southern entrance, which is, properly, the Parana, the ground is tolerably high. The villages of San Isidro, and Las Conchas, are a

good deal resorted to during the summer season. At the latter place, there is a tolerable harbour for the smaller vessels employed in the trade of the river; these, and the ox carts, are, at present, the means by which the internal trade is carried on. It is observed by Azara, that the south-west side of the river is much safer during the pamperos than the other; vessels having some shelter from the land, and not so much in danger of being driven on shore; he mentions an instance of a Spanish frigate which rode out the storms during nine successive years; with good ground tackling, there is but little danger. While I was at Buenos Ayres, some of the smaller craft were blown ashore by the south-east winds; but they may be placed in perfect safety on the Riachuelo; a small stream just below the town. They are quite as safe as the river craft at New Orleans, but they have by no means the same convenience in lading and unlading, on account of the shallowness of the water in front of the town.

The southern coast has been very little explored; there is still kept up a small establishment in Patagonia, where criminals are sometimes sent; and whither, during the early part of the revolution, some of those who happened to fall under the popular displeasure, were banished. I am not acquainted with its exact position. The country of the Tuyus, forms a very important exception to the general description of the pampas south of Buenos Ayres. On the other side of the Salado, there is a range of hills, which when compared to the dead level around them, have been called mountains; it runs towards the Andes, and by some, is thought to be one of its spurs, although it subsides towards the centre of the pampas; perhaps it might be traced to the mountains of Cor-

downs. The valleys are watered by numerous brooks, and there is some wood; there is a resemblance in this country to that of Monte Video; it is said to be highly susceptible of improvement. The climate cannot be surpassed.

Buenos Ayres, from its local advantages, which are similar to those of New Orleans, (with the exception of its harbour,) near the mouth of a vast river, which, with its branches, traverses a country capable of supporting fifty millions of souls, must become, some day or other, a great city. There is no other town in South America, whose position is in any way to be compared with it. Besides its advantages as a great emporium for the interior provinces, it is favourably situated for a trade with Brazils, the West Indies, Europe, the Cape of Good Hope, and Asia. The assertion of M. Dupradt, that neither Tyre, nor Carthage, nor Rome, had higher destines than this city, is not exaggerated. This place, for nearly two hundred years from its foundation, being completely denied its natural advantages, by the wretched policy of Spain, and harrassed by the incursions of the pampas Indians, continued to be of little importance. In fact, its growth can be dated little further back than forty years, when these provinces, with the addition of those in Upper Peru, were erected into a viceroyalty, of which it became the capital, and the commercial restrictions, imposed by Spain, were slackened in many important particulars. From that time, Buenos Ayres becoming the deposit of the valuable products of Peru, of Paraguay, and, also, the seat of an important branch of the East India trade, increased in population and in wealth with unexampled rapidity; but within the last ten years, its advantages have been incalculably diminished; having been compelled to support a bloody and expensive war

for its existence; it has had nothing but its present free and unshackled trade with all the world, to counterbalance the privation of those advantages, to which it owed its rise. With Paraguay and the provinces of Peru, an intercourse and trade can scarcely be said to exist; and with Chili, for some years, there was none at all. Under these circumstances, it was not to be expected that Buenos Ayres should do any thing more than remain stationary. It does not appear as prosperous and flourishing as Rio; but I observed no striking marks of decay; on the contrary, the town is full of people, though not overflowing, and business appears to be brisk. When we consider the efforts and sacrifices which the city has made, it is only surprising that it should not wear more the appearance of exhaustion. I am informed, that within a few years past, its population has even increased.

The history of Buenos Ayres from its second establishment in 1580, contains very little worth recording, excepting its wars with the Indians, and the local disputes between the bishops and the clergy on one side, and on the other the governors and others entrusted with the civil government, unavoidably arising from the unfortunate mixture of civil and ecclesiastical authority. The former were accustomed, from the first, to participate in the measures adopted for the welfare of the colony, while they exerted a powerful influence over the minds of a superstitious people, by their power to excommunicate offenders of the church. In these squabbles, which were experienced more or less in all the colonies, the people were frequently enlisted. Buenos Ayres was erected into a bishoprick in 1620, but increased very slowly until raised to the dignity of a viceroyalty, in the year 1776, with an audiencia composed of five auditors and two commissioners. From this period, its growth was ex-

tremely rapid; and when taken by the British, its population was estimated at sixty thousand souls.

The emancipation of the Spanish colonies, is said to have been a favourite idea of the celebrated William Pitt. He had frequent conferences, we are told, with the Jesuit Viscardi Gusman, a native of Peru and an enthusiast in the cause of South American liberty; and by whom an eloquent appeal was afterwards published. This document may be seen in the appendix to the second volume of Walton on the Colonies,* and is said

* In a collection of documents on the subject of the South American emancipation, published in 1810, with notes and an introduction, by J. M. Antepara, a native of Guayaquil, it is stated, that there was an understanding on the subject, about the year 1798, between our government and that of Great Britain. The same thing is mentioned in Brown's American Register. The conquest of Mexico was to have been effected conjointly; and the twelve regiments raised by us, at that period, were destined for this service. Nothing but our subsequent settlement of differences with France and Spain, it is said, arrested the enterprise. The greater part of these documents are collected in Walton's address to the Prince Regent. The following letter of Alexander Hamilton to Miranda, may be a curiosity to most readers.

Letter from General Hamilton to General Miranda.

New-York, August 22, 1798.

SIR,—I have lately received, by duplicates, your letter of the 6th of April, with a postcript of the 9th of June. The gentleman you mention in it, has not made his appearance to me, nor do I know of his arrival in this country; so that I can only divine the object from the hints in your letter.

The sentiments I entertain with regard to that object, have been long since in your knowledge; but I could personally have no participation in it, unless patronised by the government of this country. It was my wish that matters had been ripened for a co-operation in the course of this fall, on the part of this country; but this can now scarce be the case. The winter, however, may mature the project,

to have been addressed to Mr. King, our minister, then at the court of London, and who, in the senate of the United States, has on several occasions, avowed his sentiments in terms honourable to the patriot and the statesman. The proclamation of General Picton, is said to have been furnished by Lord Melville, and it expressly declared that it was intended merely to enable them to maintain their commercial independence, "without any desire on the part of the King of England to acquire any right of sovereignty over them, or to interfere with their civil, political, or religious rights." The orders given to Sir Home Popham, were of a very different kind; conquest was the object here, and having gained a foot-hold, to prevail on such parts as they could not hope to subdue to throw off their allegiance to the Spanish yoke, and under the guardianship of the invaders, set up governments of their own. But in the mean time, General Whitlock and Crawford, were to make themselves masters of Buenos Ayres, on the one side of the continent, and of Valparaiso on the other; after which, to

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and an effectual co-operation by the United States may take place. In this case I shall be happy, in my official station, to be an instrument of so good a work.

The plan, in my opinion, ought to be a fleet of Great Britain, an army of the United States—a government for the liberated territories, agreeable to both the co-operators, about which there will be probably no difficulty. To arrange the plan, a competent authority from Great Britain to some person here, is the best expedient. Your presence here will, in this case, be extremely essential.

We are raising an army of about 12,000 men. General Washington has resumed his station at the head of our armies: I am appointed second in command.

With esteem and regard I remain, dear sir,

Your very obedient servant,

(Signed) A. HAMILTON.

establish military posts across, and endeavour to become masters of Peru. The powerful expedition under these generals, failed entirely, on account of the intention to make a conquest instead of offering their assistance as auxiliaries. The following extract from General Whitlock's defence, contains an interesting picture of the state of the country at that time. On perusing it attentively, the reader may form a tolerable idea of the prevailing sentiments of the people at this day, with the difference which may be supposed to have been produced by self-government, for nearly ten years.

"It was known that the people were divided into factions, and that various causes had rendered a large proportion of the inhabitants ripe for revolt; and great numbers were anxiously looking to a separation from the mother country, as the only means of availing themselves of the natural advantages of their local situation. It was, therefore, naturally concluded, that people who feel themselves oppressed rather than protected, as excluded by restrictions founded upon a narrow and selfish policy from many commercial advantages, would gladly change their government; and if it were once established in a military post in the country, the above causes would make it easy to open an extensive intercourse with the inhabitants, and new channels for trade and commerce.

"It was supposed, that the character of this country* for liberality and good conduct towards those who come under our dominion, ensured us the good wishes of the greater part, and the co-operation of a large proportion, at least, of the community. The public hopes and expectations were raised to the highest pitch, and no sus-

* Great Britain.

picion existed that it was possible for the greatest part of the population of South America, to entertain any other than a just feeling of attachment to our government; still less, that it was possible that such a rooted antipathy could exist against us, as to justify the assertions, (the truth of which has been proved to demonstration,) that we had not, when I arrived in South America, among the inhabitants, one single friend in the whole country. Whether the opinion of the illustrious statesman,* now no more, who had so frequently turned his thoughts towards South America, had led him to contemplate the propriety of establishing military posts there, or the co-operating only with those who would gladly have followed the example of North America, and availed themselves of our assistance in establishing their independence, I have no means of knowing; but experience has shown, that any other course of proceeding than that last mentioned, even if most successful, and almost in proportion to success, must have had the effect of placing us at a greater distance than even, from our ultimate objects, those of friendly intercourse and trade with the country.

"It is supposed in my instructions, that after effecting my first object, I might safely part with a proportion of the force under my command, and retain only about eight thousand; which, it was supposed, must, in any case, in addition to such troops as I might raise in the country, be amply sufficient to conquer and keep possession of the country; for such had been the misrepresentations to government upon this subject, that it was supposed that a considerable force of this description might with safety be established. I was directed,

* Mr. Pitt.

as the court will have observed, to use precaution as to the raising of this local force; and, particularly, to take care that one-third of each rank of officers, should be British, and to select the description and classes out of which it was to be framed; but, subject to these precautions, it was conceived and so stated in my instructions, that much aid might be derived from this source towards securing his majesty's possessions in that quarter, and avoiding, at the same time, the necessity of too large a demand on the regular forces of this country, (I use the very words of the instructions,) such, as the court will have seen, was the impression in this country, on my appointment to the command. What was the actual situation of the country on my arrival?

"I naturally resorted to the very able and experienced officer who commanded at Monte Video, and who had diligently employed himself in acquiring every possible information upon this subject. I found that in the course of his operations against Monte Video, and after its capture, he had every reason to believe that the people were, without exception, inimical to us; that previous to the surrender of Monte Video, he could place no confidence in any information he received; and that, after its capture, a sullen silence pervaded every rank. But he also found reason to believe, that however inimical they were to us, they were still more so to their present government; for upon reports arriving at Monte Video, which afterwards proved false, of the abolition of the Court of Audiencia, the setting aside of the king's authority, and not hoisting the Spanish colours; those who had appeared hostile and inveterate, now pressed him to advance a corps to Buenos Ayres, and assured him that if he would acknowledge their independence, and promise them the protection of the English government, the place would submit.

"The party in power were mostly all natives of Spain, in the principal offices of church and state, and devoted to the Spanish government. The second party consisted of natives of the country, with some Spaniards settled in it. The disposition of the mother country had made them most anxious to shake off the Spanish yoke; and though from their ignorance, their want of morals, and the barbarity of their dispositions, they were totally unfit to govern themselves, they aimed at following the steps of the North Americans, and erecting an independent state. If we would promise them independence, they would instantly revolt against the government, and join us with the great mass of the inhabitants. The next consideration was, our giving up the footing we had in South America. On this subject many important considerations presented themselves. First, the situation of the country, and the nature of our instructions. It was supposed, from the information received by government, that the country would be conquered and kept in subjection by eight thousand troops, which was considered as a large force; but the information received by government upon this subject, must have been founded in ignorance of the true state of the country. I found on my arrival, that the resistance we should have to contend with, far exceeded every calculation; not a single friend had we in the country, on the contrary, every inhabitant was determined to exert his individual strength. Upon this subject, I rely upon the experience of Sir Samuel Achmuty, who stated that *double the number of troops* I have mentioned, would be required to *conquer and keep possession of the country*."

Mr. Poinsett is of opinion, that the expedition under General Whitlock, assisted by the disposition of the people, might have secured the emancipation of these colonies, but was not adequate to transfer the dominion

to the crown of Great Britain. An interesting question naturally suggests itself; has the policy of England undergone a change as to the emancipation of these countries from Spain? That she can have no hope of obtaining any direct dominion over them, is certain; but, *can Spain give any thing like an equivalent to what England would gain by the emancipation of the colonies*? Wherever the standard of revolution is raised, Englishmen are crowding in, and introducing their manufactures, their language, their literature, and their "free-born thoughts;" for it is a fact, that whatever the sentiments of Englishmen may be at home, they are at heart republicans abroad. They may obtain in this way almost as strong a hold upon them as the Spaniards. Thousands of English families will migrate to South America, and become connected with the natives, by this means introducing English habits and predilections. The hope of accomplishing this, is a permanent advantage of too much importance to be slighted. I must confess, I cannot see that any thing has occurred to change their policy, *although it may now be necessary to conceal it with a deeper dissimulation.*

Some apparent confusion prevails in the political divisions of the United Provinces; a few explanatory remarks may be necessary. This confusion arises from the mistake of confounding some of the smaller subdivisions or jurisdictions, with those which properly come under the denomination of provinces, and considered members of the union, governed in the manner prescribed by the provisional statute. It must be borne in mind, that the viceroyalty was divided into two audiencias, four intendencies included in each; four in the lower country, and the like number in Upper Peru. Each of the eight intendencies, had its subordinate jurisdictions, with lieutenant-governors and sub-delegadoes.

In the audiencia of Buenos Ayres, the term intendency, is no longer used, that of province having taken its place; and at the same time, the number of provinces were increased in 1814, after the capture of Monte Video, by the division of some of the intendencies. For instance, Cuyo and Tucuman were taken from Cordova; Santa Fee, Monte Video, and Corrientes, were taken from Buenos Ayres.

Five new provinces were therefore laid off; making the present number *nine* (including Paraguay), instead of four. They are Salta, Tucuman, Cordova, Cuyo, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Santa Fee, Corrientes, and Monte Video.

They are called *free provinces*, because the Spanish authorities have ceased to exist, although, during the contest, Salta and Tucuman were, for a short time, the seats of war; but for the last three or four years, the Spanish arms have been confined to Upper Peru.

The Portuguese, in their war with Artigas, have taken possession of part of the province of Monte Video, but with the avowed intention of refraining from hostilities against those provinces which are at present united.

Of the nine provinces, all are united except Paraguay, Santa Fee, Corrientes, and Monte Video. The first entered into an amicable arrangement with Buenos Ayres, at the commencement of the revolution, but has since resolved to keep aloof from all parties; and is, therefore, to be regarded as a neutral, excepting so far as respects Spain. Since Santa Fee has withdrawn itself, the town and immediate vicinity only, have been free from the jurisdiction of Buenos Ayres, as all the rest of the province has been subjected to the controul of the general government. Part of the Entre Rios was under the jurisdiction of Corrientes, and part of Santa Fee. The people, however, of Santa Fee, Entre Rios, and Monte Video,

are in favour of joining the confederacy, when they can do it on such terms as they think to their interests, whatever may be the intentions of Artigas, who at present governs them. What may be the ultimate wish of Paraguay, is not known.

Mistakes have been occasioned, by the circumstance of some of the subordinate districts being entitled to one or more representatives in congress, and, on that account, considered as provinces, by persons not acquainted with the nature of these divisions. They are, for all the purposes of municipal government, dependent on some province, or member of the union. Thus Catamarca and Jujuy are subordinate jurisdictions of Salta, and San Juan and San Fernando subordinate to Cuyo.

The comparative importance of the provinces, in point of number and extent of territory, which compose the union, with those not included, may be seen by the following table; but the difference in point of information, public spirit, wealth, commerce, agriculture, and whatever contributes to the respectability of a people, is still greater in favour of the provinces of the union.

With respect to Paraguay, the estimate only includes those coming under the denomination of Spaniards; the Indians civilized or uncivilized, are excluded in this instance as well as in the others.

UNITED.

Free Provinces.		*Chief Towns.*	
Buenos Ayres	120,000	Buenos Ayres	60,000
Cordova	75,000	Cordova	6,000
Tucuman	60,000	Tucuman	5,000
Salta	60,000	Salta	6,000
Cuyo	75,000	Mendoza	8,000
Districts not included	75,000		
	465,000		85,000

NOT UNITED.

Paraguay	100,000	Assumption	12,000
Missions	40,000	Candelaria	5,000
Santa Fee } Entre Rios } Banda Oriental }	50,000	Santa Fee	6,000
	190,000	Monte Video	7,000
	655,000		115,000

The five provinces of the union contain four hundred and fifty thousand souls, exclusive of Indians, and about six hundred thousand square miles; little short of the whole extent of our old thirteen states.

Those not of the union, but friendly, one hundred and forty thousand souls, and seventy-five thousand square miles.

Those not of the union, and unfriendly, fifty thousand souls, and one hundred thousand square miles; parts of the territory and population, under the Portuguese.

It is necessary to observe that, with respect to the population, as no census has ever been properly taken, the

estimates differ exceedingly. From the imperfect data on which these estimates are founded, in all the Spanish colonies, nothing else could be expected; both Depons and Humboldt, have lamented this defect, and both seem to agree, that the population is, invariably, underrated.

It is also to be remarked, that in the ordinary estimates, the civilized Indians are frequently omitted, and the uncivilized never noticed at all. Of those who are counted as Spainards, there is a considerable proportion of the mixed race, as by the laws of the Indies, after the fifth remove, they are enrolled in the class before-mentioned; but in their features, complexion and habits of life, there is little or no difference between them and the immediate descendants of European Spaniards: unless it be, that they generally display more genius and native energy of character. In Paraguay, for instance, the Guarany language may be said to predominate. "Throughout the Spanish settlements in Paraguay, Guarany is the language which children learn from their mothers and their nurses; and which, owing to the great mixture of native blood, and the number of Indians in slavery, or in service, is almost exclusively used. Even in the city of Assumption, sermons were better understood in Guarany than in Spanish; and many women of Spanish name and Spanish extraction, did not understand the language of their fathers." The foregoing was written nearly a century ago; but, according to Azara, the change which has taken place has not been great. "Those who inhabit the province of Buenos Ayres, are more properly composed of continual accessions from Europe, than from a mixture with the Indians; who, in this part of the country, never were numerous; it is on this account they speak Spanish. On the contrary, the *Spaniards* of

Paraguay, and their neighbours, the inhabitants of the city and district of Corrintes, are the offspring of the intermarriage of their forefathers with the Indian women, and, in consequence, speak Guarany; and it is only those who receive an education, or the men of the city Curruguaty, who understand Spanish." At Assumption, there is also a proportion, not small, who are of Portuguese descent. This mixed race, like the Paulistas, have shewn themselves greater oppressors of the uncivilized Indians, than the Europeans.* The cities of Cordova, Tucuman, Salta, Mendoza Santa

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* May not the revolutionary decrees of Buenos Ayres, giving equal rights and liberty to the poor Indian, as well as to the Spaniard, have produced an unfavourable effect with the wealthy and influential inhabitants of Paraguay? Indian *slavery* has been abolished in that province, I believe; but there is still Indian *servitude!* The difference in the language of this province from the others, may, also, be a reason for their not joining with them. Mr. Bland, in his Report, page 42, labours under the common error, when he speaks of "the Paraguay agriculturist, with his smattering of letters and his *Jesuit habits.*" The Jesuits had no influence in Paraguay, on the contrary, the influential clergy, the Franciscans and Dominicans, were their deadly enemies; and had the Spaniards on their side. The bishop Cardenas succeeded in procuring their expulsion, and it required the greatest exertions on the part of the civil authorities, to protect them. The Jesuits were extremely unpopular, excepting among their Indian converts in one corner of the province, separated by deserts from the Spanish inhabitants, with whom they wished to avoid all intercourse. I refer the reader to the 2d vol. of Southey's Brazil, Azara, and Wilcock's Buenos Ayres. What I have said of the Jesuits, proceeds from no partiality to their society, but from a desire to give every one his due. The Jesuits could not have acted otherwise, in the circumstances in which they were placed. Whether they would have pursued a different course if it had been in their power, is another question.

Fee, and some others, have a population similar to that of Buenos Ayres.

The uncivilized Indians are not taken into the estimate. Several subordinate districts of the union, I was informed by the gentleman from whom I procured my estimate, were not included, from his being unable to obtain information on which he could rely. The statement agrees tolerably well with that given by Mr. Graham.

CHAPTER II.

The Subject of the foregoing Chapter continued.

ALTO PERU, or the audiencia of Los Charcas, it will be recollected, is the *sixth* natural division of the territory of the viceroyalty of La Plata. What a train of thought is inspired by the name of Peru! The seats of civilization in the new world—an innocent and industrious people, living under a mild and paternal government, a prey to merciless robbers, obeying the dictates of no law but their avarice and cruelty; a people who, after being deprived of every thing, were compelled by strangers to wear the chains of slavery in their own country. The wrongs of the injured Peruvians can never be atoned. The Jews, in their Egyptian bondage, were in a land of strangers, but the children of the Incas, were enslaved in their native land, and compelled, in the sight of objects calculated to awaken the most sorrowful recollections, to do the bidding of their relentless task-masters. How affectingly are these feelings expressed by Garcilasso, a descendant of the Incas, in a few simple words—"my grand-uncle," says he, "often related these things to me, when a child, and then he would weep." To the present day they cherish a melancholy remembrance of their former state; and, it is said, have become habitually sad and mournful.

"O could the ancient Incas rise again,
How would they take up Israel's taunting strain!

"Art thou too fallen, Iberia? Do we see
The robber and the murderer *weak as we?*
Thou that has wasted earth, and dared despise
Alike, the wrath and mercy of the skies;
Thy pomp is in the grave, thy glory laid
Low in the pits *thy avarice has made.*"

COWPER.

But, with the greater part of mankind, the name of Peru is associated with other ideas. Here is the principal fountain of that golden stream which has given life and vigour, at once to the virtues and the vices of mankind—which has fomented wars of interest and ambition, and kindled the worst of passions—at the same time that it has animated commerce and its attendant train, has excited and rewarded industry, fostered science, improved the condition of man, and civilized the world. Who has not heard of Peru, and the riches of Potosi? And who can calculate the effects of the golden stream on the condition and character of mankind, throughout every region of the earth? Here then is the prize for which the infant Argentine republic, I have just described, and the once mighty, but now decaying strength of Spain, are contending? Can the civilized world remain indifferent spectators of the issue? I propose, in this chapter, to take a rapid survey of these important provinces.

In order to convey a more clear idea of their situation, it is necessary to bestow some remarks on the disposition or arrangement of the two principal ranges of mountains. The two great ridges which run along almost the whole longitude of South America, and very nearly in parallel lines, give a character to the country *which lies between them*, scarcely resembling any other in the world. The snowy summits of these parallel ranges of mountains, from the seventeenth to the twenty-fourth degrees, south, (that is, from the

Disaguadero to Jujuy,) are, generally, distant from each other about one hundred and fifty miles; the ground between them is greatly elevated above the level of the sea, and above the track which lies between the base of the western ridge, and the Pacific; hence, it is called the *alto Peru,* (high Peru,) to distinguish it from lower Peru, or the provinces whose elevation above the level of the sea is not so great. The general elevation of this zone, or track, between the snowy Andes, is, at least, twice that of the highest summits of our Alleganies; but varies considerably, as within the enclosed space the mountains have a more gradual slope, which is also the case to the east; but on the west they rise like a vast wall, to be descried from

——"Many a league at sea."

The description of a celebrated French philosopher* of the *alto Peru,* will convey a clearer idea. "After having scaled one of these mountains, whose aspect is so frightful, one would naturally expect to be compelled, by the inclemency of the skies, to descend on the other side into deep glens and forests, such as he has left; it can never enter his mind that beyond these mountains there are others of equal height, *and that both appear only designed to conceal that happy country where nature traces in her liberality, or more properly speaking, in her perfection, the image of a terrestrial paradise.*" This description is correct, although the high region, as well as the lower, is covered with verdure and magnificent forest trees, and presents a great number of savannas, and is also occasionally intersected with deep valleys. There are also trans-

* Bouguer, figure de la terre, p. 31.

verse ridges, which bind the two mighty walls together, and are almost as elevated.*

The elevation of upper Peru above the level of the sea, and the difference in the elevation of different parts of this delightful country, enables one to choose the temperature (with the thermometer in his hand, as Humboldt expresses himself,) most agreeable to him, from perpetual spring to the rigour of Siberian winter; few, I presume, would hesitate much in the choice; the higher regions are, therefore, abandoned to the more wretched of the Indians, who subsist on *papas*, or potatoes, and to the timid Guanaco; while the condor, soaring above the loftiest peaks of the Andes, seems to belong to another world. All who have visited the region of perpetual spring, have expressed themselves with rapture †— a perpetual se-

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* The Andes are most usually known by the name of the eastern and western Cordilleras. In upper Peru, the first is vulgarly known by the appellation of *sierra del Oro*, or gold range; as it is here that gold mines are most frequently found; the other is the *sierra de la Plata*, the silver range; as the silver mines are most abundant. The first diverges as it runs south, gradually diminishing as it passes through Tucuman and Cordova, and finally subsides in the pampas of Buenos Ayres, near San Luis, in the province of Cuyo. The western range, where it forms the eastern boundary of Chili, (called the Cordillera of Chili,) is, in reality, an unbroken wall; but further north, it is more properly *a chain of mountains*.

† I saw several Peruvians at Buenos Ayres, who spoke of the climate of that place with a kind of horror, and were unceasingly praising the temperature of their "blissful seats above." In the proceedings of the congress, in my possession, there is a notice of a member from Peru, who asked leave of absence from Buenos Ayres, *his constitution having suffered from the unhealthiness of the climate*."

renity, skies the most brilliant, an air as soft and balmy as Elysium;

> "Felices nimium popull, queis prodigua tellus,
> Fundit opes ad vota suas, queis contigit æstas
> Æmula veris, hyems sine frigore, nubibus aer
> Usque carens, nulloque solum fœcundis imbre."

"Too happy people, to whose wishes the prodigal earth showers her gifts, to whom are given summers that resemble the spring, winters without cold, a sky unclouded, and a soil that re[...] the aid of showers to be rendered fruitful." Such is the kingdom of the Incas; extending from Chuquisaca,* to Cusco, from Cusco to Quito, and containing, according to the calculation of some of the early writers, eight millions of souls, when conquered by that ferocious monster, Pizarro, and his greedy followers.

The eastern side of the second Cordillera, differs in some respects from the western. There are numerous openings and deep glens, through which the mountain streams, after having gathered their waters from their elevated sources, become navigable rivers, making their way towards the vast plains of the Amazon. The spurs and broken ridges of the Cordillera *del Oro*, constitute a surface of the most extraordinary variety; profound valleys, whose temperature is that of the torrid zone, the most delightful amphitheatric slopes, open groves, pastoral plains, abundant waters, and impenetrable forests of gigantic trees. This region is, in general, moist and hot; and, therefore, far inferior to the high plains between the Cordilleras. It gradually subsides into the immense plains which stretch towards the

* This the Indian name of the city of La Paz, or Charcas, the capital of the audiencia and province of Charcas.

Paraguay, and the Portuguese possessions, inhabited by uncivilized tribes of Indians,* and forming, in point of territorial extent, by far the greatest of the natural divisions, in which, I have included the provinces of *alto Peru.*

To speak of the productions of this country, would almost appear superfluous, when it is evident, that it is capable of producing *all the fruits of the earth!* If there be exceptions, their number is so small, as scarcely to deserve to be noticed. I [illegible] that nothing can exceed the sterility of the mine tracks, (of limited extent,) and from this, arises the common error with respect to the countries in which they are situated; those are, beyond comparison, the most fertile and pleasant on the globe. That they have not been known by their agricultural productions to every region of the earth, is owing to their having mines, and to the jealous policy of Spain. Had there been no mines, the produce of the soil would have found its way long ago to the Atlantic, through the channels of La Plata and the Amazon. The Mamore is navigable from Chulumani, a district of La Paz, through the province of Cochabamba. The Beni, another tributary of the Amazon, is navigable from Paucartambo, a district of the province of Cusco; the Apuremac is navigable from the province of Truxillo, and the Marañon is navigable from Maines. These rivers afford an easy communication with the gulph of Mexico, or the coast of Caraccas; the connexion between the Amazon and the Oronoco, still a subject of

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* The vast track called Moxos, Chiquitos, and Chaco, watered by some of the southern branches of the Amazon, and stretching along the west side of Paraguay, is called by the Semanario, another *terra incognita,* and estimated by Sobrevicla, at fifteen hundred miles in length, by six hundred in breadth.

doubt when La Condamine descended the first of these rivers, is now fully established, and accurately described by Humboldt. It has already been stated that the Pilcomayo is navigable from the neighbourhood of Potosi; opening a water communication with Buenos Ayres, as easy as that of the western parts of Pennsylvania with Orleans, by the Ohio.

As has been stated in the Introduction, it was the policy of Spain to confine the inhabitants of these districts to the business of mining; any exports besides the precious metals, and a few products almost of equal value, were not encouraged. It is not to be supposed, however, that there was a want of stimulus to cultivate the earth. The mine districts collected crowds of people, great cities rose up, which must be supplied by the cultivators of the soil, a *home market* was formed, greater perhaps than even in this country. The enormous size of the interior cities, is noticed by Humboldt, as a kind of phenomenon; they were certainly out of all proportion to the rural population. The size of the cities were in proportion to the productiveness of the mines, near which they grew up, and usually occupied the most unpleasant spots of the whole country; but the surplus of agriculture grew only in the same proportion. What would have been its increase if the whole world had been laid open as a market? What would have been the proportion of foreign demand of articles of universal *consumption*, when compared to the amount of gold and silver? Would it have been greater or less? What would have been the effect on the state of society and population? Would it have produced a greater change in the face of things throughout the world? The exportation of the precious metals was, after all, only a more convenient mode of carrying the surplus produce of labour to market, in a more portable shape; and if it

were impossible to get it to market by any other means than by the assistance of *the representative of value throughout the world,* (in this respect a thousand times better than mere bills of credit, whatever name may be given to them, whose circulation is limited and partial,) the case would be different; but in opening channels of trade, there was no danger that a surplus would be wanting, both for foreign exports and for the business of mining—they would both increase in proportion to the demand. The articles which were permitted to enter into the commerce of Peru, were, unquestionably, sources of wealth. Would not that wealth have increased with the augmentation of those exports? And how was this to be effected? By simply using the means which "God and nature" have given—by opening the navigation of the Amazon and La Plata, and by improving the communications with the Pacific. Labour is the foundation of all national wealth; the precious metals are not taken from the mines without labour, and gold is, itself, of no value but to purchase the labour, or the products of the labour, of others. At the same time, it may be justly regarded as the *standard of value,* because it is used for this purpose among all commercial nations, and is the great agent in equalizing and regulating the products of labour. If our banks had been mines, the many millions thrown into circulation, would have been slightly felt throughout the world; but without producing any injurious effect, other than gradually to increase the *bulk* of the circulating medium. There would be inconvenience in having to lug about a cart load of specie, to make the most trifling purchase; as it came to be the case with the leather and iron money of the Greeks. Unfortunately, our *paper coin* was only a standard of value in our own country; and, although for a while it effected improvements, and caused every thing to flourish,

in the end it embarrased the whole of our foreign trade, by raising the produce in our country to prices which did not correspond to those in Europe. This event caused us to feel the consequences of our mistake somewhat sooner, but we should have felt it at last, and aggravated a thousand fold. The theory of Dr. Bollman, of preserving a certain equilibrium by *regulating* the issues of paper-money, is very beautiful; its only defect is, that it cannot be put in practice, *at least in this country.* Nature has placed a bar to the indefinite augmentation of the precious metals, but we must *place our faith in men,* that the paper coinage will not be carried to excess.

In speaking of the intendencies in their order, I shall begin with that of CHARCAS, (or La Plata,) as being also the seat of the audiencia. It is bounded on the north by Cochabamba, on the west and south by Potosi, and on the east by Santa Cruz de la Sierra, (or Puno,) and is divided into the following subordinate jurisdictions: Cinti, Yamparaes, Tomina, Paria, Oruro, and Carangas. The province was conquered in 1538, by Pedro Anzures, one of the captains of Pizarro, who founded the present city of La Plata, on the ruins of the Indian town of Chuquisaca. The audiencia was established in 1559; and being the supreme court of these important intendencies, it is much resorted to from other parts of Upper Peru. There are said to be upwards of five hundred lawyers, and a proportionate train of officers and persons connected with the law. There are also said to be a number of learned and eminent men; as it is, in fact, one of the principal seats of learning in South America. The clergy are possessed of great riches, and are very numerous. The jurisdiction of the archbishop extends over the whole viceroyalty, excepting Cuyo, which belongs to the diocese of Santiago.

In the district of *Tomina,* which lies to the south-east, the climate is warmer, but has some fine country within

its jurisdiction. Considerable numbers of horned cattle are raised here, and there is some manufacture of leather. In the district of Cinti, vines are cultivated and produce large revenues to the inhabitants. The province of *Yamparaes*, is chiefly agricultural, and produces wheat, barley, maize, and fruits; with which it supplies the two cities of La Plata and Potosi. In Paria and *Carangas*, besides having mines, some parts raise a great number of sheep, and have numerous flocks of alpachus, vicunas, and guanacos. In some of the other districts, the sugar cane is cultivated. The Pilcomayo, and tributary streams, water a considerable portion of the intendency.

The jurisdiction of *Oruro*, although included in the intendency, having a municipality of its own, is much less dependent than the others. It has been much celebrated for its gold mines,* and of silver, very productive. The situation of the city is advantageous in several respects. From its situation on the great road from Buenos Ayres to Lima, its vicinity to Arica on the Pacific, and facility of crossing the Cordillera, which is much broken here, it had become the centre of the interior trade. During the present war, it has been occupied as the principal military depot of upper Peru. According to Helms, there is an excellent road to Vilcanota, four hundred miles towards Lima; and from that place, a good road might be made across the mountains, and then along the coast to the capital of lower Peru. It is stated by Mr. Pazos, (to whose work I must refer the reader, for much interesting information), "that there is not a single work of public improvement, performed by Spaniards to be found; no public roads, no bridges, no establishments of commerce, nor improvements of navigation. In this fine country, where nature is never idle, and where the choicest

* It is said there are also tin mines.

productions of the globe grow almost spontaneously, the hand of the Spaniard has never been employed, excepting in torturing the bowels of the earth for gold, to satiate the lust of his avarice, or in oppressing the natives of the country, to gratify his pride." There are some manufactures here; the cattle and sheep of some of the districts are fine.

The intendency of POTOSI lies to the west and south of Charcas, extending to the Pacific; the district of Atacama, is included within its jurisdiction. The province of Salta confines it on the south. It is divided into the following subordinate jurisdictions; Potosi, Chichas, Lipes, Atacama, Porco, Chayanta, Tarija.

The district of *Atacama* lies between Chili and the long narrow Peruvian province of Arica. Between it and the settled parts of Chili, there are the deserts of Atacama; which form a very serious obstacle to the communication between Chili and Peru. The only port is that of Cobija; frequented by fishermen and coasting vessels. The copper mines of Concho are well known; the copper hammers for the use of the mines of Peru, are manufactured here.

Lipes, along the sides of the western Andes, and south of Oruro, has rather a cold climate; grain and fruit, therefore, do not thrive so well; but it abounds in cattle, particularly in those which are native, as the vicuna, alpacas, guanacos, and lamas.* These animals are

* These native animals are said to be a species of the sheep; and it is stated, in a curious and interesting paper in the Semanario, that they will breed indiscriminately with each other, and the common sheep. The paper shews the practicability of domesticating these animals, in the low provinces, by crossing the breed. For an account of these valuable animals, I refer the reader to Molina's Chili, to Azara, and to the recent work of Mr. Pazos, p. 225. The following constitute the principal difference between them:—1st, The lama and

common, however, to the whole extent of the Cordilleras, in the more elevated regions. In the plains are found salt, saltpetre, and sulphur.

Chichas is one of the most extensive jurisdictions of Potosi. It stretches east and west nearly three hundred miles; part of the delightful valleys of Tarija, being included on the east. The greater part of

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alpaca are domestic animals. The *lama* is about the size of the stag, and of different colours—white, brown, and black. Although sometimes called the *American camel*, the resemblance is not striking. Its flesh is equal to mutton. The wool long and coarse: the Indians make their clothing of the wool of the wild lama. Its burthen is 125lb; its motion slow, gait majestic, carrying the head high in the air. The neck is long and slender, as appears by the drawing which accompanies the travels of Sobreviela. It is employed in transporting the specie across the rugged paths of the mountains. It was the beast of burthen of the Indians, in the time of the Incas. Its temper is mild and gentle. The *alpaca* is smaller than the lama; colour white, black, and sometimes spotted: its flesh is said not to be eaten. Its wool is fine and valuable. 2. The *guanaco* is smaller than the alpaca; its colour a pale red, like the rose dried in the sun; the belly and legs white; the wool uncommonly fine; it is not domesticated, but frequents the most rude and inaccessible parts of the Cordillera, and is extremely fleet. 3. The *viouna* is of the same size with the guanaco; somewhat taller than the common sheep; colour dark brown, with white belly and legs: it is more vigorous in the elevated, than in the low and temperate situations; the wool finer in those inhabiting the higher parts. The viouna and guanaco, inhabit the elevated regions where no other animal can live. They are numerous in the Cordillera of Chili; flocks of several hundreds are seen together, like sheep. They are killed for their wool by the hunters; but are easily domesticated. The wool is, perhaps, the finest in the world; being as soft and glossy as silk, which is not lost by being dyed. The *bezoar* stone is found in this animal. The sheep-skin seen by Lewis and Clark, on their passage across the rocky mountains, were, in all probability, from one of these animals.

Chichas, is high and cold, and its agriculture is scarcely sufficient for its inhabitants. To make amends, it abounds in valuable mines of gold and silver; those of Suipacha, have become celebrated by the defeat of the royalists, during the present revolution. Great numbers of goats and asses are reared in this province, and form an important article of trade with the other provinces. The road from Buenos Ayres to Potosi, passes through this district, and also separates it from the jurisdiction of *Tarija.*

This district is one of the most celebrated in Peru for its great fertility and beauty, and is almost exclusively agricultural. It produces wheat, maise, cocoa, grapes, flax, and the herb of Paraguay. That its produce is not in proportion to the fecundity of the soil, is to be ascribed to the want of a sufficient demand in the neighouring provinces. "San Bernardo is situated in a delightful plain, well supplied with water, is very fertile, but exclusively appropriated to the culture of maise, and the rearing of swine. San Lorenzo, at the foot of the mountains, enjoys a similar temperature and fertility. The valley of Vermejo is indifferently peopled, and there is room for new settlers. Its temperature is warm and moist; it is adapted to the rearing of cattle, as well as the culture of olives, canes, and a variety of plants and productions which are not to be found in other parts of the dependencies of Tarija." Large flocks of sheep, and herds of cattle, are reared in its abundant pastures. The exportation of horned cattle, alone, to the other provinces, exceeds ten thousand head; worth eight dollars each. The inhabitants are represented by Helmes, as leading a most indolent and inactive life, passing the greater part of their time beneath the shade of their huts, in imitation of the people of Tucuman. But the revolution has pro-

duced a very considerable change in their character; numerous parties of Guerillas harrass the Spaniards, who are in possession of the capital, and hardly ever suffer them to appear beyond its precincts. It is intersected by a number of rivers, which fall into the Pilcomayo and Vermejo.

The district of *Chayanta* and *Porco,* situated to the north of Potosi, rear large flocks and herds; but the climate is rather too cold for successful cultivation. The chinchillas, whose skins are well known in commerce, are very abundant in this district.

The city of Potosi, so famous for its mines, is situated in this jurisdiction, in latitude nineteen degrees thirty minutes south, and sixteen hundred and fifty miles from Buenos Ayres, twelve hundred from Lima, and three hundred from the Pacific. It is built on a sterile mountain, which is about eighteen miles in circumference. The population of this place was estimated at one hundred thousand souls, including the slaves and others, employed in working the adjacent mines. Since these have ceased to yield so abundantly, the population has diminished more than one half. The churches of Potosi surpass all others in the world in riches; during the revolutionary struggle, they have been respected by both parties. The houses of the wealthy are furnished in the most magnificent manner. "The militia of the place," says Helms, "made a wretched appearance, without uniforms, without field-pieces, and one half of them parading with wooden muskets." About twelve miles to the south of Potosi, are the hot springs; which are resorted to by some for health, and by others for amusement. The mint is a splendid edifice, and its coinage said to be superior to that of Santiago or Lima. The markets are as abundantly supplied as those of New York, or Philadelphia, and for very moderate prices. The climate is cool when

compared to the valley below; but the houses are without chimnies or fires. The population of Potosi was wasted by the insurrection of Tupac and Amaru, during the bloody conflict which then prevailed. This city is the centre of the interior trade, and is a great place of business; as it is much frequented by strangers, it is a place of gaiety and dissipation. The owners of mines are prodigal to excess, and their habits are essentially different from those of merchants, agriculturists, or manufacturers. No where is gaming carried to such length as in mine countries; the business of mining, itself, is a species of it, and the card or billiard tables, are only varieties of the occupation. The following are the principal mines of the intendency of Potosi. Those of silver are Guariguari, Machacamarca, Siposo, Cha[illegible]icari, Maragua, Ocuri, Titiri, Aullagas, Porco, Coroma, Tombi, Ubina, Chocaya, San Vincente, Serrillos, Portugalite, Esmoraca, and Lipes; of gold, Ap[illegible]circa, Amayapampa, Choquenta, Aberanga, Terca, Rio Blanco, Talina, and Libilibi; copper in Ataca, and lead in Moxo. Each of these names designate merely the metallic ridges and mountains, and not the names of mines really worked; which might be much more numerous. Many of the richest mines are no longer worked, from the want of sufficient skill to free them from the water.

La Paz is the most northern of these intendencies. It is bounded on the north by the country of the Amazons and the intendency of Cusco, and on the west, by that of Arequipa, on the east, by Cochabamba and Moxos. It is divided into the subordinate districts of La Paz, Pacages, Cica-Cica, Chulumani, Omasuegos, Larecaja, and Apolobamba. The western part of the intendency includes the celebrated lake of Titiaca; the only one in South America which can properly be com-

pared to ours. It is two hundred and forty miles in length, and on an average, thirty in width; of great depth, but subject to sudden flaws of wind, which rush down from the mountains and raise dreadful storms. To the east the intendency includes the eastern Cordillera and its declivities, and then descends into the vast fertile plains of Moxos, which stretch towards the Portuguese possessions, and are traversed by the great branches of the Amazon. The western Cordillera is much broken from the western shores of the lake to Arequipa, distant seventy-five miles; at present there is nothing but a mule road, though a carriage road might easily be made. The eastern Cordillera is an immense unbroken ridge, whose summits are covered with snows; it has occasional peaks, which, in height, might vie with that of Chimborazo. The principal pass is that of Chulumani.

The city of La *Paz* does not yield in opulence and population to Potosi or Chuquisaca. It is situated on the banks of the Chokeeago, a branch of the Amazon, and at the foot of one of the Cordilleras, and from its sheltered position, is screened from the bleak cold air, frost, snow, and hail, not uncommon, from the vicinity of the lofty peaks of the Cordilleras in this quarter. Other parts, similarly sheltered, produce all the fruits and vegetables of hot or temperate climates; while in the mountainous parts, there are large woods of valuable timber, but infested with wild beasts; and on the heaths are found guanacos, vicunas, and European cattle. The city contains a college for the education of those designed for civil or ecclesiastical employment; but it is spoken of as a very indifferent institution. The markets of La Paz are well supplied. The lake and the ocean furnish an abundance of fresh fish; wheat is brought from Cochabamba, and other districts of Peru; sugar, coffee, chocolate, are brought from the neighbouring dis-

tricts. There are vineyards in the neighbourhood, from which some wine is made, but there is always a plentiful supply from the coast of the Pacific. It was in the river at this place, that an extraordinary mass of virgin gold was found by an Indian, while bathing, and valued at eleven thousand dollars. The city suffered considerably in the insurrection of Tupac Amaru, but had begun to flourish, when, in 1808, the fire of the revolution was kindled here, and has been the scene of the most fearful and desperate struggles. The manifesto of independence of Buenos Ayres, states, that the wells were poisoned by the royalists, and that a barrack containing three hundred patriot soldiers, was treacherously blown up; it is also stated, that great cruelties were committed by Goyneche, by whom the revolution was suppressed; that the same scenes of carnage and butchery occurred here, as at Santa Fee de Bogota, where the bloody Morillo perpetrated his barbarous and savage butcheries.

Pacages contains a great number of silver mines, lies along the western Cordillera, and is in general too cold for grain; the inhabitants therefore apply themselves to the breeding of cattle for the supply of some of the neighbouring provinces.

Cica-Cica is an extensive district; its climate various. As in other districts of Peru, there are mines of gold and silver. In the village of Ayoayo, there is a salt spring, at which great quantities of salt, of a very superior quality, are produced. The *coca* is cultivated here extensively. This is a plant whose leaves are prepared and dried for the purpose of chewing; it has been called "the tobacco of the Indians." It is indispensable to the comfort of the Indian miners of all Peru; immense quantities are therefore consumed.

Chulamani is situated to the east of the city of La Paz; it is chiefly celebrated for its plantations of coca or

betel.* Coffee is also cultivated here, but not extensively; chocolate being much more in use. The coca of this province, is said to be the best in America. The colder parts of the district feed large flocks of sheep.

Omasuegos lies along the eastern side of lake Titicaca, (or Chucuito.) The air is somewhat cold, and, therefore, unfavourable to the production of grain, which defect is amply compensated by the great number of cattle. The Indians who live along the borders of the lake, carry on a trade in fish, with the other provinces, and are very industrious in improving these advantages. A remarkable wall is seen in this district, of thirty miles in length, extending from the region of perpetual snow, down to the edge of the lake; constructed, it is supposed, for the same purpose with that of China, and may be ranked among the vast number of interesting remains of antiquity to be met with throughout all upper Peru, and particularly in the vicinity of this celebrated lake. A part of the quicksilver mines of Coabilque (supposed to be equal to that of Huancavelica, in lower Peru,) is situated in this district. They were not permitted to be worked, for what cause is not known. The mines of Huancavelica, fell in some years before the revolution, and the supply had to be made up from different parts of Europe; a principal cause of the diminution in the products of the mines, is the want of quicksilver; without which, they cannot be worked. The intendency of

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* It is stated by Pazos, that the sale of this article of first necessity in all Peru, in the city of La Paz, where the commerce centres, amounts to the enormous sum of five millions! He mentions one estate alone, whose annual revenue is sixty or seventy thousand dollars. The coca is almost peculiar to La Paz, as the matte is to Paraguay.

La Paz, having been so frequently the seat of war, during the present contest, may account for their not working the mines of Coabilque. The lake of Titicaca, contains a number of beautiful islands; one of which was a mountain, but levelled by the Incas. Manco Capac is fabled to have first appeared here, and in memory of the event, the magnificent Temple of the Sun, so much celebrated, was raised on this island. The temple contained vast riches, as it was the Mecca of the Peruvians; all who visited it leaving valuable presents. On the conquest of the country, all these riches were thrown into the lake, in order to disappoint the rapacity of the conquerors. The island produces fruits, flowers, and vegetables, and possesses fine pastures. This lake will, in time, be the means of carrying on a most extensive trade with the provinces of Peru, and will greatly assist the communication with the Pacific. One day or other, the whole of this table land, capable of supporting the population of France, will be attracted to the shores of the Pacific, through its means; and from the Pacific, what further directions might be given to its vast wealth, by the help of steam-boats, may, perhaps, be rash to conjecture. If there should be a free passage from Tehuantepec to Guasecualco, in the gulph of Mexico, *one might go in thirty or forty days from the city of Washington to La Paz,* which would be much more wonderful than a regular line of stage coaches from Washington to Mexico, as suggested by Humboldt.

Laricaja is the most extensive district of the intendency, being three hundred and fifty miles in length, by ninety in breadth, it is extremely rugged, and the climate infinitely various, from the circumstance of there not being any great extent of country of the same elev--

tion. It is full of rapid mountain s... ...h nume-rous cataracts, which flow into the Beni, a very important branch of the Amazon. Several valuable gold mines are worked, but like every other district of Peru, in a limited degree compared to what they might be made to produce. Gold is found in the river Tipuani, embodied in clay, in lumps requiri g merely to be melted down and cast into plates or ing s. At this town the Beni loses its rapid current, and is as navigable as the Ohio at Pittsburgh. The reduced Indians below, frequently come to this place in their canoes, and during the insurrection of Tupac Amru, a Spaniard descended this river with enormous treasures, which he put on board a Portuguese vessel, and carried to Spain. The country at Tupuanir, according to Pazos, becomes level, " and stretches off towards the north and east, into expanded ...ins covered with forests, and exhibiting ge... ...ations of hills clothed i... luxuriant vegetation. From the top of the mountain of Silla near Tupuani, the river is extremely open towards the north and east. I do not imagine that a finer country can be presented to the human eye; and when ... consider that in the neighbourhood are mines of gold, the richness of which has never been explored; that there are groves of costly woods, and forests of the finest timber trees, with a soil of great fertility, and capable of producing all the various productions of the earth, not excepting the cinnamon and spices of the Indian isles; and that all these things are seated at the head and on the borders of water navigable to th Atlantic ocean; we must be satisfied that the brightest ...ions of fancy can scarcely pourtray, to the future rule... of t...s favoured country, its importance to the ...merce of the United State., the changes which will b... wrought by its independence in the political econo-

my o[illegible] floods of wealth which will roll down the broad basin of the Amazon and its tributary streams to enrich the world."

Apolobamba, a province of very considerable extent, but thinly inhabited, chiefly by civilized Indians, and a few Spaniards and creoles, who own large estates. The cocoa of this country is in very high repute. Rice, cotton and wax, are among its staples. This district does not properly lie in *alto* Peru, it is in the low country on the eastern side of the eastern ridge, and borders on the vast and fertile plains of Amazonia.

Each of these minor jurisdictions, or districts, contains a number of other subdivisions; or rather of towns and villages, as the country is in general settled in that manner, and not by a scattered population, as in the United States. The minor districts enumerated, have also a very considerable extent of territory. In speaking of countries at a great distance, territorial space appears to dwindle into comparative insignificance; there is scarcely any one of these districts, which is not as large as the state of Delaware, or Jersey, and several equal in size to Maryland, or Pennsylvania. The [illegible] within which they are comprised, are of equal extent with our largest states, not to speak of the vast country, or wilderness, which lies between the eastern ridge of the Cordilleras and the territory of Portugal, and the river Paraguay. None of the intendencies spoken of, exceed that of La Paz in importance, either with respect to position, or the value of their products. Besides the coca, and its excellent cacao,* it produces a great abundance of coffee. The vine and the sugar-cane, rice, and cotton, are equally suited to its soil and climate. The Peruvian bark is one of the most abundant productions. Nearly all the streams which de-

scend from the eastern Cordillera, ... sands, with which are mingled particles of gold, and nearly all its ridges contain veins of this precious metal. There are also silver mines in Caquisiri, Caquingora, Machaca, Berenguela, Tiaguanaco, and Acacachi. There are some emerald mines in Caquiaveri, native copper in Curaguara, and a mine of quicksilver in Guarina. Besides this mineral wealth, its fertile plains and slopes are covered with domestic flocks, and abundance of game surpassing all the other provinces.

The fourth intendency, that of GOCHABAMBA, has been described with minuteness by a German philosopher, at least as to its natural history and productions. It is situated to the south of *La Paz*, and borders on the district of *Santa Cruz de la Sierra* on the east. It is separated on the south, from Charcas, by the Rio Grande, and a chain of mountains of great elevation, form a barriers on the north; its western boundary is the Cordillera of the coast, and it extends to the vast plains of Chiquitos, on the east; towards which it gradually slopes off, forming an inclined plane, whose highest point of elevation is the summit of the Cordillera. Its base is the level track which stretches across the Paraguay, and Parana, towards the Atlantic. It possesses, therefore, every soil and climate of the world; on the eastern side of the Cordillera, there is a great abundaace of mineral wealth in the declivities of the mountains and plains beneath; in the highest regions of the mountains, there are great numbers of the native sheep; in the more temperate regions, an abundance of maize, barley, wheat, vines, olives, and all the fruits of the old world, are produced. The luxuriance of vegetation, is in proportion to the distance from the summit of the mountains; at the same elevation with those of the Brazil,

the vegetation is precisely the same; trees and plants innumerable cover the soil with prodigious abundance, and fill the air with fragrance and salubrity. Nature here displays her creative power in all its beauty and variety: this fertile soil produces the palm, the pine-apple, the banana and its various species, cocoa, Peruvian bark, the sugar-cane, and cotton. I refer the reader to an interesting paper of Mr. Haenk, published in the appendix to the work of Azara. *Coachabamba* is considered one of the most industrious and agricultural provinces of upper Peru; its principal staples are wheat and maize, which it exports to neighbouring districts; the soil is said to yield from sixty to a hundred for one. In its district of Valle Grande, considerable quantities of tobacco are raised. Peruvian bark, cocoa, and indigo, are amongst its products. Its forests produce a variety of woods adapted to cabinet work, and considerable quantities of furniture are made by the inhabitants. There are also manufactures of green glass, with which some of the neighbouring provinces are supplied. Coarse cotton cloths are likewise manufactured, and sent to almost every part of Peru. There are also rich gold mines, but, at present, entirely neglected. *Oropesa*, or Cochabamba, the capital, is a beautiful city, containing upwards of twenty-five thousand inhabitants, and situated on a plain near the river Sacabo. The roads leading into the city, are planted with lofty forest trees, resembling the finest avenues of Versailles; in the vicinity there are extensive gardens, highly cultivated, and orchards of the finest fruits.

The inhabitants are mestizos and cholos, and are said to differ from the population of the other province, being taller, fairer, and generally better made. The fairness of the complexion of the mixed race, has

already been noticed in speaking of Paraguay, as a kind of phenomenon; which is noticed by Azara, Funes, and Pazos. The inhabitants of *Cochabamba*, have taken by far the most active part in the scenes of the revolution, of any of the provinces of Peru. They are said to be more intelligent than their neighbours, are not so much cooped up in towns and villages, and are represented to be industrious farmers and skilful mechanics, and to possess much less inequality of fortune than is usual in these provinces.

Santa Cruz de la Sierra (or Puno,) is usually enumerated as one of the intendencies of Los Charcas; but it is not mentioned as such in the *Guia de Forasteros;* and in Wilcock, it is said to be immediately dependent on the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres.* This jurisdiction is also said to embrace the country of *Chiquitos* on the east, and of Moxos on the north; it is, therefore, of great extent, and includes numerous tribes of Indians, who do not acknowledge the Spanish dominion. *Santa Cruz* is divided into two districts; the first of the same name, the other called Misque; which has, at present, a representative in congress. How far the Spanish power is established here, I do not know; but as this country lies to the east of the Andes, and is separated from Peru by those elevated mountains, it is possible that it may be free from Spanish control. A road was explored in the year 1791, (by the same Cornejo who descended the Vermejo,) across the low country from Salta to *Santa Cruz;* thus avoiding the circuitous and mountainous route by Chuquisaca. The province of Misque is said to be very fertile, and produces great abundance

* That is, having no dependence on the audencia of Charcas.

of co... sugar, grapes, bees-wax, and honey. Great quantities of the latter are procured by the inhabitants of the countries bordering on the Gran Chaco and Chiquitos, from the wild bees which hive in the neighbouring forests. The district of *Santa Cruz* was settled, as has been mentioned, by Nuflo de Chaves, in 1558, by reducing sixty thousand Indians, chiefly of the Moxos tribe. The vast forests which stretch towards Paraguay, and the overflowing of the lake Xarayes into the country of the Chiquitos, to what distance westward is not well known, renders it almost impossible to penetrate with any considerable force to Paraguay in that direction; but it is a matter of surprise to me, that no attempt has been made by the royalists, who have possession of Potosi and La Plata, to descend the P...omayo; which is well known to be navigable without any interruption.

The district of *Moxos*, includes an area of four hundred and fifty miles from north to south, and six hundred from east to west. A few Spanish settlements and missions are scattered over this extensive country, and which is capable of supporting an immense population. The Indians are, generally, reckoned amongst the *Indios Fieles*, or converted Indians, but the sovereignty of Spain over them is precarious, and of little value; the only government which at present exists is military. The air is hot and moist, on account of the many rivers and large forests which this province contains. Its climate is, in every respect, tropical. The cocoa of Moxos is said to be the best in the world.

Chiquitos, in climate and productions, resembles the district just described. The Jesuits succeeded in establishing and in converting some of the Indian tribes in the same manner with [illegible] Paraguay. In

1732, they had seven villages, which were flourishing, and situated in a delightful country. These Indians, since the expulsion of the Jesuits, have not lost the civilization which they acquired; they are industrious cultivators and manufacturers. Their cotton fabrics are of a much finer kind than usual in these countries; their cabinet-work is also well spoken of. They excel in making musical instruments; such as organs, harps, and violins, and play them with skill. The priests who succeeded the Jesuits, it is said, have followed nearly the same plan in the government and domestic economy at first established over them, which may account for the difference between their missions and those established on the Paraguay. The climate of these provinces is like that of the East Indies; half yearly alternations of dry and rainy seasons. Among their products are cinnamon, ginger, Peruvian bark, gum copal, and a variety of raisins and balsams.

I have now completed the geographical sketch of the upper provinces, and though I have done little more than select some of their more striking features, enough has been said to shew their importance. These rich provinces, lying between the seventeenth and twenty-second degrees of south latitude, and which, at present, contain a million and a half of civilized inhabitants, possess a greater quantity of mineral wealth than all the rest of the continent, or perhaps than the whole world beside.

The great diminution of theproduce of the mines since their first discovery, is to be ascribed to the following causes.* 1. The decrease of the Indian popu-

* The produce of the mines has been gradually diminishing since the first century of their discovery. If I were to make an estimate, I should say that they had diminished to *one sixth* of their former amount.

..ation, and the great amelioration of their treatment. The conquerors sacrificed them by thousands in the unwholesome damps of the mines, where they were urged to their tasks like beasts: at present they are only forced to work in those which belong to the king. The cold air of the mountainous regions in which the mines are situated, is extremely injurious to the constitution of those who come from the warm vallies below: the fumes of arsenic and antimony, are still more deleterious. Five times the number of Indians were formerly employed in working the mines, the Spaniards, at an early period, despising every other pursuit; but the increase of civilized population in the country, and the demand for other articles, at home and abroad, have diverted a considerable portion of industry to a different channel. 2. Experience of the uncertain and precarious profits of mining, the extravagance, luxury, and ruin attendant on it, has, also contributed to bring other employments into better repute. There appears to be something like a surfeit of mining, and agriculture has come in vogue, the profits of which, though not so great, are less precarious; *mines in agricultural districts are therefore neglected.* The number of mines known at present, is much greater than during the first century, but the *delirium* no longer prevails. There is no kind of doubt but that the mines of gold and silver are inexhaustible; but the circumstances which caused them at first to be worked, prevail in a much less degree. Their produce must still, however, be in proportion to the extent to which they are worked, and the skill of the miners, and not limited by the quantity they are *capable* of producing. Fortunately, the ores of gold and silver are found in smaller quantities than iron, or other minerals, and the working of them is much more unhealthy, preca-

rious and expensive.* But we have seen that, even in this country, although some have made very large fortunes by iron works, a much greater number have been ruined. 3. The quantity of metal produced from the mines, is dependant on the quantity of quicksilver, of which there must be a limited supply. Here, therefore, is another check to the indefinite increase of the precious metals. Some of the mines, it is true, do not require it, such as that of *Laya cota*, where the silver was chisselled out, or the *papas* of Atacama, where lumps of pure silver were dug out of the sand; these, however, are either extremely precarious, or soon exhausted. 4. The richest mines are, in the end, invaded by water, and it requires vast sums to keep them clear; but, from the want of skill, they are abandoned at the moment when they promise most. Even in the operation of separating the metal, (according to Helms,) by adopting a more careful and scientific method, the amount might be doubled. It is a fact well known, that the ore is continually forming. In those mines which were again opened many years after having been abandoned, this was found to be the case—pieces of wood were discovered with veins of silver running through them. Ulloa, in vol. 2, p. 15, after stating the fact, indulges in some curious speculations on this subject. He is inclined to ascribe this effect as well to the natural reproduction of the metal, as to subterranean fires; the greater part of this country being volcanic. This is a

* "The timber fit to be employed in the machinery of the mines of Potosi is brought from [illegible]. A single stick has cost a thousand dollars." Wilcock, p. 14[illegible].

subject much better understood in modern chemistry.
3. The present state of South America is so obvious a cause of the diminution in the produce of the mines, that it scarcely requires to be noticed. I am inclined to think that this is only now beginning to be felt, as there were, previous to the revolution, immense sums in bullion in the possession of individuals in Peru and Mexico, and which have been carried to the mint.

The inhabitants throughout the whole of this elevated region, extending to the Isthmus of Darien, have no exports, or commerce, besides the precious metals, excepting a small quantity of cocoa, Peruvian bark, vicuña wool, and chinchilla skins; industry is, therefore, unknown, and ignorance is its inseparable companion. The precious metals constitute the staple commodity of Peru, and must suffice to procure the necessaries and luxuries of life to all its inhabitants; although they are worked without skill, and the miners are not protected by just and equitable laws.

AUDIENCIA OF CHARCAS.

INTENDENCY OF CHARCAS.

Sub. districts.	*Indians excluded.*	*Indians included.*	*Chief Towns.*
Charcas, ······	16,000	16,000	16,000 Charcas.
Cinti, ········	25,000	60,000	12,000 Cinti.
Yamparaes, ··	12,000	40,000	
Tomina ······	12,000	40,000	
Paria, ········	13,000	50,000	
O[illegible], ····	6,000	15,000	15,000 Oruro.
Carangas, ····	8,000	25,000	
	——92,000	——2[illegible]6,000	

INTENDENCY OF POTOSI.

[illegible]	14,000	35,000	35,000 Potosi.
Atacama, ····	8,000	30,000	
Lipes, ········	8,000	20,000	
Porco, ······	15,000	130,000	
Chayanta, ····	40,000	100,000	
	——85,000	——215,000	

INTENDENCY OF LA PAZ.

La Paz, ······	14,000	40,000	40,000 La Paz.
Pacages, ······	60,000	90,000	
Cica-Cica, ····	20,000	60,000	
Chulumani, ··	15,000	50,000	
Omasuegos, ··	30,000	60,000	
Laricaya, ····	25,000	65,000	12,000 Zorate.
Apolobamba, ··	5,000	35,000	
	——169,000	——400,000	

INTENDENCY OF COCHABAMBA.

Cochabamba, ··	30,000	100,000	25,000 Oropera.
Sacaba, ······	15,000	60,000	
Tupicari, ····	30,000	100,000	
Arque, ······	10,000	35,000	
Palca, ······	6,000	20,000	
Clisa, ······	35,000	100,000	
Misque, ······	8,000	20,000	
Valle Grande,	30,000	100,000	
	——164,000	——535,000	
	510,000	1,496,000	
Santa Cruz, Moxos, and Chiquitos ····		220,000	
		1,716,000	

The population of these provinces, therefore, exceeds a million and a half, including Indians; and exclusive of them, half a million. After deducting from this number, one-fifth for the monastic orders and the Old Spaniards, with their adherents among the nobility, there will be left between three and four hundred thousand ready and willing to support the cause of independence, exclusive of Indians, who may safely be counted on when they can consult their inclinations; but whose extreme ignorance and the slavish state in which they have been kept, render them of small account, compared to their numbers. *A successful battle has, uniformly, turned the tide in favour of the patriots;* which proves, that the great mass of the people, in heart, are with them, if it could be possible for a moment to doubt it. They hasten to join the patriot standard; not so when the other party is successful; even where they think themselves most firmly fixed, there are numerous parties of guerillas, which continually harrass them. If there appears to be a calm for a while, it is only the precursor of some desperate effort. The longer the contest continues, the more formidable they must inevitably become.

From the foregoing estimate, it will appear, that the proportion of whites to the aborigines, is about one to five. But even amongst those regarded as whites, or Spaniards, the proportion of mixt race must be very considerable, a circumstance which tends to efface the line of distinction between the creoles and the natives, and to bring them nearer to each other in point of interest and feeling.* The case of the European Spaniard is very different; he is hated by the creole on account of the advantages

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* The difference of the casts in South America is of less importance than generally supposed in Europe.

he possesses from the circumstance of being born in Spain, while between the European and the Indian there is nothing to produce friendship or affection; on the contrary, the Spaniard looks upon the poor Indian with haughty contempt, at the same time that he despises the creole. Association and familiarity, independently of any ties of blood, naturally have a tendency to remove any thing like prejudice, or repugnance between the latter and the Indians. The lower classes of the Peruvians, are not taught to read and write, and are, therefore, in a state of extreme ignorance, and under the influence of the grossest superstition; they are fit only for the lowest occupations; few among them have the boldness to conceive any original plan or design; they plod on, in the "even tenor of their way," with the same submission to their chiefs or rulers, as the Russian boor, or Chinese peasant. As respects a people of this description, *numbers* are of very little importance; when compared to men who think and act for themselves, they are what flocks and herds are to lions and tigers. They have strong attachments to their creole masters, and enter completely into their feelings of hatred to the Chapitones, or Spaniards; they are the domestic servants in the house of the Spanish Peruvians; they are the tenants and labourers on their estates, and even where they live apart in their own villages, they look up to the protection of some creole of wealth and influence. Negroes and mulattoes, form but a very small portion of the population; there are probably not more than two or three thousand of this class, in Upper Peru. This may be ascribed to the same cause why the number is so small in Mexico, the greater number of Indian labourers, and the cheapness of labour.

The laws of the Indies, professing to protect the Indian, prohibit any one from trading with him beyond the

amount of fifty dollars, without the consent of his chief. This, and similar restraints on his actions, necessarily tend to retain him in a state of pupilage. It was, therefore, idle to talk of the Jesuits retaining their neophytes in this state, because, on the expulsion of the Jesuits, their converts would only be turned over to a pupilage much more severe. The illiterate Indians of Peru have always been remarkable for their honesty and fidelity. It was observed by Sobreviella, "that of all the king's subjects in America, the Indians are the most affectionate and devoted. Their ancestors," he observes, "were very severely treated and oppressed, by the Spanish soldiers in the time of the conquest. These intrepid warriors treated the Indians as their cerfs, and compelled them to cultivate the ground assigned them, and did not permit them to remove, or change their residence." The commanderies, the name given to this species of subjection, were, after a time, abolished; the repartimentos succeeded, and were finally done away in 1779. The condition of the Indians, therefore, has greatly improved since the first conquest, and is partly to be attributed to the gradual progress of civilization, as well as to the intermixture of races. The first stages of improvement *are always the longest and most tedious*, but after having made a certain progress, this improvement increases with a multiplied rapidity. In all probability, the hunter of the Andes, like the hunter of the Alps, will remain through ages unchanged; but the Indians residing in cities, or in thickly settled districts, will gradually be lost and mingled with the European race.

What will probably serve to keep them longer a distinct people, is the recollection of their Incas, the golden age, which they cherish with a mournful pleasure. Their native airs, although ridiculed by Azara, are spoken of by intelligent travellers in Peru, as sweet and plaintive.

The descendants of the Spaniards, have borrowed this music, with many of the customs and habits of the conquered people. It is not the first example we have had, of conquerors receiving manners and customs from the conquered. The circumstance, however, is important, as it tends to render them more distinct from the European Spaniards, as well as to wean their affection from Spain. The Indians still preserve all the incidents of the conquest, in their dramatic representations, composed in metre, and, it is said, with pathos and eloquence.

The supplications of Atahualpa for his life, from Pizarro, will long continue to draw floods of tears from the Indians of Peru. They still preserve many of their religious rites, intermingled with the Catholic worship; and this, in all probability, must give a peculiar cast to the Catholic worship, even among the creoles.

There was one thing in which the conquerors were scrupulously cautious, and which has never been deviated from; this was, to prohibit them entirely, the use of fire arms. It was to these, the conquerors were indebted for their success, and the preservation of their dominion required this superior advantage to be continued. The Indians of Peru, therefore, are an unarmed, unwarlike peasantry. It is said, they are still as much afraid of fire-arms, as they were at the period of the conquest; but when trained and disciplined, and intermixed in the ranks with Spanish soldiers, they gradually become accustomed to their use. They receive the fire of muketry with firmness, although they cannot stand the charge of the bayonet. As militia, they are good for nothing; and as guerillas, far inferior to the creoles of the south of Salta, Tucuman, or Cordova, on account of their being inexpert horsemen; from the nature of the country they inhabit, they are but little accustomed to ride. Without the materials furnished by this class of

population, it would be utterly impossible for the Spaniards to maintain the contest in upper Peru; but a writer, whom I have frequently quoted, in speaking of this country, consoles himself by the reflection, that the Spaniards, in teaching the use of arms to the Indian population, are pursuing the very course that will eventuate in the overthrow of their power. "If they are now ignorant of their rights, and the native dignity of their character, and are made blind instruments in the hands of their tyrants; at some future day, when the light of knowledge shall break in upon them, they will burst asunder the bonds which now shackle them, and, learning their rights, they will be able to protect them."

The next class in point of numbers, is that of Mestizos and Cholos. The first, spring from the mixture of the white and Indian, but not so far removed from the Indians, as to be ranked in the class of Spaniards, although in their dress, manners, and language, no very essential difference is perceived. They can generally read and write; they carry on the small traffic of the country, are clerks and agents of one kind or other; they manage the large estates of the wealthy, but are seldom possessed of more than a moderate share of wealth; they are, of course, in a great measure, identified with the creoles, or Spanish Americans. The cholos come from a mixture of the mestizos and Indians: they are said to surpass all other classes, both in bodily strength and activity, and in native genius. They receive but little education, and speak indifferently the Indian and Spanish. They are the mechanics, overseers of the mines, the bull-fighters, and engage in all hazardous undertakings, and in enterprises which require more than usual strength or exertion. They are said to make admirable soldiers, when trained and disciplined; possess-

ing coolness, courage, and intrepidity. They have been the principal leaders in the present revolution, and have made by far the greatest exertions to accomplish the independence of the country; but, it is said, were, unfornately possessed of but little influence with the other classes. The proportion which these two classes bear to the others, it is almost impossible to ascertain: the gentleman from whom I received my estimate,* assured me, that the inhabitants of pure blood were not more than as one to fifteen; as many of those who are ranked as Spaniards, have a greater or less portion of Indian blood in their veins.

The creoles constitute the third class in point of number. These again are divided into the nobles; such as counts, marquisses, mayorasgos (or owners of fiefs,) and knights of different military orders. These, of course, hold the most conspicuous rank in society; especially as they inherit large fortunes from their ancestors, the first conquerors, and early adventurers. The eldest sons, who suceed to the estate, are, generally, but indifferently educated; and from the want of suitable objects to engage their minds, pass their time in idleness and dissipation. The number of these nobles, however, in the viceroyalty of La Plata, is inconsiderable, when compared to Lower Peru. The younger sons, if possessed of an inclination to study, become curates, or lawyers, explorers of mines, or they become owners of haciendas, or plantations, where they pursue the different cultures of the country. There are, usually, a number of families of Indians, whose duties are similar to those of the peasantry of Chili; the young Indians are their domestic

* He was a native of Peru, and had been a secretary to one of the patriot generals.

servants. The higher clergy, as well as the monks and friars, in whose hands immense wealth has been amassed, are, in general, Europeans; but the secular clergy are Americans, and distinguished for their eloquence and learning. They also apply themselves to the study and practice of the canon law, which is very profitable, from the nature of the ecclesiastical fuero or privilege. Thus when we hear of the part taken by priests in the revolution, it is necessary to understand that these are of the secular clergy; men, in some degree, habituated to business, and but little under the influence of monkish superstition. The clergy, both at Buenos Ayres and Peru, manifested a disposition to throw off the papal yoke, but were not seconded by sufficient liberality and intelligence among the people.* The profession of the law forms a very numerous corps in these countries; and many of its members amass considerable fortunes. As legal proceedings are chiefly carried on in writing, their written eloquence surpass their public speaking; it is said, however, that there is no deficiency in the oratory of the bar, but formed on the French style; of course, artificial and rhetorical; and having no juries to speak to, or an audience attracted for the sake of amusement, or by curiosity, it is not to be expected that their eloquence should be of a popular kind.

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* Among the lower classes of people, both in Peru and Buenos Ayres, the monks possess great influence, and take every advantage of their ignorance and superstition; but among the higher classes, and more enlightened part of the community, the secular clergy, or curates, who are their intimates and companions, are the most influential. It is, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance, that all the secular clergy, and great numbers of the regulars, should have joined the revolution; as, in this manner, the superstitious fears of the ignorant, are quieted when they see their clergy leading the *rebellion* against the king and the pope.

The creoles, who are the most numerous and enlightened portion of the community, have a most inveterate hatred to the Spaniards, whom they look upon as a set of needy adventurers, "seeking whom they may devour." The magnificent and ostentatious manner in which the creole loves to display his wealth, contrasted with the poverty and plainness of the Spanish adventurer, occasions him to be despised. The houses of the creoles are splendidly furnished, and, as they are fond of a shew of learning and knowledge, the rich take a pride in displaying magnificent libraries. The greater part of their time, however, is spent in gaming and dissipation. The degree of luxury prevailing in Peru, is much greater than that at Buenos Ayres; where property is more equally distributed among the people, and where there are no overgrown fortunes to justify the indulgence in ostentatious display or extravagance.

The European Spaniards are the least in point of numbers, but by no means the least in influence and importance. Their numbers are estimated at between eight and ten thousand in Upper Peru, besides those in the audiencia of Buenos Ayres. In this class is to be found the higher clergy, the officers of government, numerous expectants and adventurers, all, of course, devoted to the king, and adhering closely together; the greater part illiterate and bigotted, but possessed of a knowledge of business, and more persevering and industrious than the creoles.

Such were the materials which composed the population of the audiencia of Los Charcas, on the breaking out of the revolution. Of the creoles, the only portion inimical to it, was found among the wealthy landholders and nobility; probably the greater part of this class (in itself, the least respectable or powerful, excepting through the immediate influence exercised by them

over their vassals and dependents), preferred their present state, to another in which they were not certain they would be gainers, and would probably lose. The higher clergy, and the Spaniards, formed perhaps an equal number, but were much more formidable enemies. Notwithstanding this, however, the first dawn of the revolution was hailed by a majority so overwhelming, that all opposition to it was hushed in silence. Its enemies were compelled to indulge their feelings in secret; opposition dared not to raise its crest. The enemies of the revolution did not recover from their astonishment and dismay, until after the unfortunate battle of Huaqui, in which the patriots were defeated. They then roused themselves into activity, and set every engine to work for the purpose of extinguishing the revolutionary conflagration.

The Indians of Peru, from the time of the conquest, suffered their oppressions with a degree of patience unexampled. If they resisted, or rose up against their oppressors, their efforts were partial, and with but little plan or concert. The insurrection of Tupac Amaru, however, is a memorable exception, as it extended from Cusco to Tucuman, and may perhaps be one reason why they have shown so much timidity during the present contest. They had not forgotten the dreadful lesson in their last desperate effort, when as to them,

> "Hope, for a season, bade the world farewell!"

To them it appeared to have fled forever. The revolution instead of suddenly awakening the feelings of enthusiasm, only caused them to look on with amazement. It was a scene they could not fully comprehend. They saw, it is true, a sruggle between the native and European Spaniards, and they were called upon to share in equal rights and privileges, as Americans, by those who

claimed to be their countrymen. Still it was beyond their comprehension. Possibly political life was dead in them, or perhaps so far gone, that its pulsations could but slowly and gradually return. Perhaps, attaching the idea of political freedom and happiness to the restoration of their Incas, this was the only cord to be touched when it was necessary to produce a high excitement. This, I think, is clearly proved by the narrative of the insurrection of Tupac Amaru, as given by Funes.

Tupac Amaru, was recognised by the Spanish government, to be a lineal descendant of the Inca Sayiri Tupac, who, in 1578, was put to death by order of Phillip II. He was declared entitled to the marquisate of Oropesa; but did not succeed in obtaining possession. A suit, it appears, had been commenced for this purpose, in the audiencia of Lima. He is represented as having been a man of daring mind and generous character, but possessing strong passions. He received his education at Cusco and Lima; his studies probably, similar to those of gentlemen of fortune among the creoles. He warmly undertook the protection of the Indians, from the abuses practised on them; addressed memoirs to the viceroy and to the king, soliciting their interposition. Disappointed in these, as well as in what particularly related to himself, he formed the plan of liberating his country from the Spaniards. It is said he was encouraged in this by some influential inhabitants of Cusco, who disappointed him in the most critical moment of his enterprise. He began by arresting Arriaga, the corregidor of Tinta; and having erected a tribunal for trying him, condemned him to suffer death, for his unjust exactions and cruel treatment of the Indians. Arriaga was, accordingly, executed in November, 1780. The flames of the revolution now burst forth. At first, however, he acted *in the name of the king of Spain;* intending to develope his ultimate

designs, only, when he saw himself sufficiently strong. With his followers, who were continually increasing, he marched against the neighbouring district, with the intention of seizing its corregidor, and doing justice to him also; but the news of his approach enabled the corregidor to escape. The utmost terror and dismay now prevailed among the Spaniards in the adjoining provinces. In the mean while, Tupac Amaru kindled the enthusiasm of the Indians, by talking to them of the restoration of the Incas; had he been joined at this moment by the Spanish Americans, it is probable the revolution would have been complete; as Spain had but few troops, and the war she was then waging with Great Britain, *for the purpose of aiding our struggle for independence,* would have prevented her from throwing in any force to maintain her power in Peru. But there was either no previous concert with the Spanish Americans, or these were sunk into a state of apathy as to the change of their condition, from which nothing had yet presented itself sufficiently powerful to awaken them; the idea of the restoration of the Incas, would, probably, have less effect upon their minds, than the *abstract notions of the rights of man* upon the minds of the Indians.

With the mob, which had by this time collected, Tupac Amaru advanced towards Cusco; and at Sangarava, engaged and defeated a body of Spaniards. He next made an unsuccessful attempt on the city of Cusco, with his army, (if it might be so called,) which was, in reality, nothing more than a *multitude,* armed with sticks and stones, and much less formidable in war than even their ancestors, when conquered by the Spaniards. Tupac Amaru was now declared Inca; and, according to the ancient ceremony, his temples were bound with the royal fillet. Similar movements soon after took place in the povinces in the

neighbourhood of the lake Titicaca, in Chicuito, Chayanta, and La Paz. The Indians rose *en masse*, throughout the whole of the audiencia of Charcas. At first they distinguished between the European Spaniards and Americans; but the latter joining the Spaniards, were involved in the same fate. The enraged and infuriated multitude devoted all the white inhabitants to indiscriminate slaughter, sparing neither age nor sex. It was a fortunate circumstance that the Indians were badly armed, and directed by chieftains of ordinary capacity; otherwise they would have effected what they were now bent upon—a total extermination of their enemies. They were, probably, not retained long in any considerable bodies, though we are informed, that as many as ten or twenty thousand were assembled; but as they fought with no order or discipline, a very small number of regular troops was sufficient to defeat them in the field. The horrors which they perpetrated when they overpowered the whites, especially at Oruro and La Paz, have been ascribed to the remains of savage nature in the aborigines, which no civilization can expel; but the examples of modern history sufficiently prove, that there is no civilization in mobs of any country; that they are monsters every where. To relate all the incidents of this memorable insurrection, which devastated the country for upwards of two years, would take up all the remaining pages of this work. It was, finally, crushed by armies of militia and a few regulars from Buenos Ayres, Tucuman, Salta, and Cochabamba. The tide of war, havoc, aad destruction, was rolled back upon the infuriated Indians, by troops composed of the same materials as those who are now endeavouring to break their chains; and, if not to restore their Incas, at least to give them equal rights, and to elevate them

which took place in other parts of South America; to the dignity of freemen. The destruction of the Indians during this short and bloody war, was very great; and may serve, in some measure, to account for the timidity they have manifested in the present contest. It is proper to remark, however, that some of the Indian caciques joined the Spaniards; one of them, Pumacagua, in consequence of his services in suppressing the insurrection of Tupac Amaru, received the commission of brigadier-general; and, what is somewhat singular, took an active part in the present revolution, in favour of the patriots; for which he was taken by the royalists, and put to death. The most horrid tortures were inflicted on Tupac Amaru, and on other chieftains who fell into the hands of the Spaniards; their bodies were, for a long time, seen suspended on gibbets at all the cross roads, and many a Golgotha exhibits, to this day, piles of the bleaching bones of these unfortunate men.

Not thirty years had passed away, before the audiencia of Charcas became the theatre of another revolution; but originating with, and carried on by, a different class of population—the Spanish Americans. Whether the unsuccessful attempt of Tupac Amaru, had induced many to think of independence, or whether the revolution of the United States, or that of France, had given rise to new ideas in the minds of the people, it is not very easy to determine. Perhaps these were lights which enabled them, the more distinctly to see their condition. As early as 1805, an extensive plan is said to have been formed by a lawyer of Cusco, of the name of Ubalde, but which was detected, and its author publicly executed. The fact proves, that among the enlightened the independence of their country from Spain was really meditated; but the first revolutionary movements were similar to those

ostensibly, with the intention of taking care of themselves, and preventing their country from falling into the hands of the French. The utmost devotion was manifested in favour of Ferdinand, but they thought themselves equally entitled to establish juntas, and act in his name, with other parts of the Spanish dominions. The first step is every thing. This singular juncture in Spanish affairs, enabled the bold spirits who entertained the idea of independence, to take the first step towards that object, under the banners of the European sovereign, round which the whole population would rally; and if those who penetrated the designs of the first movers, ventured to oppose, their loyalty, itself, afforded a just ground of suspicion.

The junta tuitiva of La Paz, was established in March, 1809; but as the principal actors were Americans, their conduct was disapproved of by the Spaniards. Although a junta, possessing similar views, had been established in Monte Video, but composed of Spaniards. Their manifesto alleged their equal right with other Spanish cities, to establish a junta until the restoration of the monarch; especially at a time when attempts were made by the agents of the princess Charlotte, to place her in possesion of the country. The patriots proceeded to organize a government, and to raise forces for their defence, as they were immediately denounced by the Spaniards. Cisneros, the viceroy of La Plata, dispatched a force from Buenos Ayres, under Nieto, who was appointed president of the audiencia; an army was at the same time marched from Lima under the command of Goyneche. Nieto carried the city by storm, and immediately proceeded to execute "bloody vengeance," on the principal inhabitants. The revolution which occurred about the same time in Buenos Ayres, prevented him from carrying into operation his plans of proscription in their full extent; the remains

of the patriot forces of La Paz, under the command of Lanzas and Rodrigues, retired to the forests of Yrupani, whither they were pursued by the royal forces, and gradually wasted in battle or by famine.

The first step after the revolution of the 25th of May, 1810, at Buenos Ayres, was to march a force towards the upper provinces. General Ocampo proceeded at the head of a thousand men, to which the title of *auxiliary army of Peru*, was given. Concha and Liniers were defeated in Cordova, were taken, and in retaliation for the murders committed by Nieto and Goyneche, were executed. The numbers of the auxiliary army rapidly increased as it advanced towards Peru, and was hailed with enthusiasm wherever it apppeared. General Balcarce arriving with a reinforcement, found himself sufficiently strong to meet the Spaniards. Balcarce attacked the Spanish entrenchments at Suipacha, and gained a complete victory. Nieto, and other Spanish leaders, were taken, and put to death for the same reason that this sentence was executed on Concha and Liniers. The whole of the audiencia was almost instantly revolutionized, and the Spanish forces, under Goyneche, were compelled to cross the Desaguadero; the boundary line between the two viceroyalties. The patriot army consisted of six thousand men, under Balcarce, as commander in chief, and generals Viamonde, Dias Veles, and Rivero. The army of the royalists was about equal in numbers. The success of the patriots had lulled them into a security, which was taken advantage of by Goyneche. Castelli, who had accompanied the patriot army as the representative, of the junta, listened to an offer of negociation from Goyneche. An armistice was unfortunately agreed upon, at the very moment when the fire of the revolution

was beginning to blaze throughout the neighbouring viceroyalty—the nerves of the patriots were unstrung at the time when they ought to have been braced to the utmost; they resigned themselves to the pleasing delusion, that the liberties of their country were already fixed. "They celebrated the anniversary of the revolution on the magnificent ruins of the palace of Inca Mayta Capac, at Tiaguenaco, singing hymns to their country and to liberty." On the other hand, Goyneche prepared for a treacherous attack, before the expiration of the armistice; at the same time, turning to his advantage, among the superstituous and ignorant, the comparative irreverence for religion in the soldiery of Buenos Ayres. "The auxiliaries of Buenos Ayres," says Pazos, "were more expert troops than the Peruvians, and were possessed of more vivacity of genius; their wars with the English had given them a martial air and spirit, and their commerce, their intercourse with foreigners, and other cirumstances, had rendered them more liberal in their opinions; particularly in matters of religious worship practised by the Peruvians, which consist chiefly in external forms and superstitious ceremonies." Goyneche persuaded many of these deluded people, that the Buenos Ayreans had come for the purpose of destroying their religion. He, also, *proclaimed the virgin del Carmen, the commander in chief of his army*, contenting himself with acting as her lieutenant.* These gross superstitions, when preached by fanatic monks, had considerable effect on the lower classes of Peruvians. Thus prepared, Goyneche unexpectedly attacked the patriots at

* These circumstances are alluded to in the manifesto of independence.

Huaqui, on the 20th of July, and completely routed them. The author of "The Outline," attributes this defeat, in part, to the unfortunate dissensions which had by this time begun to shew themselves at Buenos Ayres, between what was called the Moreno and the Saavedra factions, and which spread to the army; Dias Velis and Balcarce being of the first, and Viamonte attached to the second.

Goyneche took possession of La Paz, and several of the neighbouring cities, but his progress was greatly impeded by the bands of guerillas which continually harassed his marches. These bands were particularly numerous in Cochabamba, Chayanta, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Enraged at this opposition, he fell upon the plan of putting his prisoners to death; and in order to strike terror into the country, is said to have seized and shot many of the market people, and cut off the ears of great numbers.* His progress to the southward was, notwithstanding, extremely difficult. Pueyrredon, who had been appointed governor of Cordova shortly after the revolution, was now sent as president of Charcas, with some reinforcements, with a view, if possible, to make a stand against the royalists. But he found every thing in such disorder, and the patriot forces so completely broken, that nothing was left to him but to collect its fragments, and fall back on Salta. The retreat w[illegible] in such a manner as to entitle him to applause; having saved the wreck of the army, brought off a large sum of public money, and secured the means of organizing a new force; for, in its present state,

* See the manifesto of independence.

it was found impracticable to maintain his ground against the superior force of Goyneche.*

Pueyrredon being called to take part in the administration of the government, he was succeeded by General Belgrano; who reached Salta with reinforcements, and military supplies, but on the approach of the royalists, withdrew to Tucuman, where, on the 24th of September, 1812, he was attacked by the Spanish General Tristan. With the assistance of the volunteers and militia of the city and vicinage, he gained a complete victory.† Tristan retreated to Salta, where he was soon afterwards followed by Belgrano, and compelled to surrender with his whole army, to the number of two thousand men. The smothered flames of the revolution again burst forth, and Goyneche found himself under the necessity of retreating towards the north. The provinces of Potosi, Charcas, Chayanta, and Cochabamba, once more fell into the hands of the patriots. Belgrano, however, confiding in the good faith of the enemy, generously set the captured army free, on their taking an oath not to serve during the war; but they had no sooner joined Goyneche, than they were ordered to take the field, in violation of the obligation they had entered into. In consequence of this, the royalists, now under the command of Pezuela, attacked Belgrano at Vilcapugio, in the north of Peru, and after a

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* "The retreat made from Potosi, by Colonel Pueyrredon, with the remnant of the army and the public property, was executed so heroically, that it deserves to be taken for a model." Funes, page 55.

† This was, probably, one of the most brilliant actions fought during the revolution, especially as the combatants were chiefly private citizens opposed to regularly disciplined troops. The appellation of *campo del honour*, has been given to the spot.

desperate action, the latter was worsted and compelled to retreat to Ayuma, where he was again attacked towards the close of November, 1813, and completely defeated; but the dispatch of Pezuela bestowed the highest praise on his military conduct. In consequence of the victory, Pezuela was enabled to take possession once more of the principal cities of alto Peru, as low down as Salta and Tarija; and Belgrano, who had been rendered unpopular by his misfortunes, was recalled.

General Rondeau was dispatched with reinforcements, to make head against the royalists; and after rapidly organizing an army at Tucuman, he advanced to meet Pezuela. The patriot general was seconded at this time, by the revolution which broke out in the provinces of Lower Peru, in the neighbourhood of Cusco, and which spread into several of the provinces of Las Charcas; in consequence of which, Pezuela was compelled to fall back. Rondeau attacked and defeated the royalists at Mochare and Puesto Grande, by which means he was enabled to take possession of Potosi. The inhabitants of Cochabamba, on the approach of Rondeau, once more declared themselves in favour of the patriots; Pezuela, who possessed considerable military talents, taking advantage of the situation of Rondeau, who had detached a part of his force to co-operate with the people of Cochabamba, advanced upon him by forced marches, and compelled him to give battle at Sipe-Sipe, in November, 1814; one of the most unfortunate for the patriots ever fought in South America, though contested with great skill and courage on both sides. Rondeau retired to Tupiza, and afterwards fell back on Salta; the enemy advancing as far as Tarija. Pezuela being appointed viceroy, was succeeded by Serna, who advanced with two thousand men as far as Jujuy; but was so harrassed much by the guerillas of Salta, under Guemes,

that he was compelled to fall back on Tarija. Belgrano was again restored to the command in 1816;* since that period, each party has done little more than maintain its ground. The Spaniards are in possession of the principal cities, and the country is, partially, under their influence, but very far from being subdued. There are numerous parties of guerillas, through the provinces of Cochabamba, Charcas, and La Paz, under Padilla, Warnes, and others. In the minds of the people, there can be little doubt that the cause of independence is daily gaining ground, and the Spaniards can only be considered masters of what they can directly control with their military force. During the important movements in the direction of Chili, it became necessary to use great caution in the management of the war in Peru; it would perhaps have been a wiser course to have pursued, from the commencement, more of the Fabian policy, and not to hazard so much on the result of a battle. The probability is, that they are now preparing to strike a decisive blow. The present army has been continually improving in discipline, as well as increasing in numbers. There is no doubt, that its approach will be hailed by the people of Peru, with greater joy than ever.

It has been asked, why have not arms been put into

* "Don Manuel Belgrano, who since the battle of Vilcapugio, had remained in retirement, resumed the command of the army of Peru. The troops received with enthusiasm, the general who had so often led them to victory; who had generously distributed to the widows and orphans of those soldiers who had fallen in the battle of Salta, the money voted to him by the government of Buenos Ayres as a reward for that distinguished service; and who had preserved his integrity amidst the changes of party, and the intrigues of faction; and had manifested no other ambition than that of devoting his life and fortune to the great cause in which he was engaged."—Mr. Poinsett's report.

the hands of the numerous Indian peasantry, to enable them to terminate the war at once? The incidents already related, furnish a sufficient answer to the question. It might have been asked, with much more propriety, why were not arms put into the hands of every male citizen above fifteen years of age, during our revolutionary struggle, or into the hands of the American people during the late war? The truth is, but a small proportion of the population of a country can be kept embodied, and entirely withdrawn from their occupations; a mere unorganized multitude, is of very little importance when opposed to regular armies; an enemy, it is true, may be greatly annoyed by guerillas, but these can only act with any ultimate effect, in conjunction with a regular army. It appears to have been the continual complaint of General Washington, that the term of service for which the militia were called out, was too short; and even then, it was difficult to keep them together. During the late southern war, General Jackson was, at one time, almost abandoned by the Tennessee militia, although there could be no doubt as to their bravery or devotion to the cause. This loose and silly talk of putting muskets into the hands of the Peruvians, even admitting that the patriots had a sufficient supply for the purpose, shows but a shallow knowledge of human nature, or of the composition of armies; and is only to be equalled by the lowness and vulgarity of attempting to cast suspicion, by insinuations of this nature, against the brave chieftains who are now contending with the Spanish power in Peru.

I have thus given a very rapid, perhaps very meagre outline of the interesting war carried on in the provinces of alto Peru. It is, in fact, replete with incident, that would furnish materials for history, of as high a character as that of any other country. The part taken by the United Provinces in this chequered contest, cannot fail

to create a high opinion of their resources, and of the abilities of their leading men; that under the various circumstances in which they have been placed—their war with the Spaniards at Monte Video, and afterwards with Artigas, and then with the Spaniards in Chili; they have been able to keep their enemies in check in Peru, entitles them to the esteem of the brave, and the admiration of the world.

CHAPTER III.

Military Force—Public Revenues—Commerce—State of Learning and General Information.

THE forces of the republic, are distributed into four divisions, or armies, which are kept on foot in different and distant parts of this immense territory: the first, is *the army of the centre;* so called, from its head quarters being in the capital; the second, is *the auxiliary army of Peru;* the third, *the army of the Andes;* and the fourth, *the auxiliary army of the Entre Rios.* There are, also, other corps under separate commands.

The table delivered by the government of Buenos Ayres, and accompanying the report of Mr. Rodney, exhibits all the details of their organization, in a very neat and comprehensive manner. The peculiarities, if they be such, in this organization, will be seen on casting the eye over the table before-mentioned. For instance, it will be seen, that there are no major-generals, and but eight brigadiers, in all four of their armies; there being a grade of officers denominated colonel-majors; which nearly corresponds with our rank of brigadier, and are thus often designated among them; there are also colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and commandants of squadrons.

The force of the state is distinguished into regulars, or veterans, civicos, and militia. The civicos correspond somewhat to our volunteer corps; being composed of the inhabitants of the towns, well-armed and disciplined. Certain requisites are necessary, to give the

right of being enrolled in this class of militia. The [illegible] of Buenos Ayres, relies upon her civicos for her defence, and they are said to be exceedingly well trained. There is also another kind of force, but which is almost exclusively confined to the capital; this is composed of the slaves who are regularly exercised every sunday, and then marched to the different churches. The whole is made up of corps of artillery, troops of the line, cavalry of the line, auxiliary civicos, and militia of the country.

The army of the centre, is under the immediate direction and control of the general government, and is under the command of General Ramon Balcarce; one of the three distinguished brothers of that name, who are all generals in the regular service. It consists of five hundred and thirty-three regular artillery, officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates; the infantry is stated at thirteen hundred and sixty-seven, officers, &c. The civicos, consisting of the brigade of Buenos Ayres, and the brigade Argentina, an aggregate of five thousand three hundred and five. The regular cavalry amounts to five hundred and thirty-three, cavalry of civicos to thirteen hundred and eleven; the militia of the country around Buenos Ayres, and which can be called together in a few hours warning, amounts to eight thousand seven hundred and two, all cavalry. It thus appears, that the capital has a force of seventeen thousand seven hundred and fifty-two, well-disciplined and well-armed men, ready, at a very short warning, to make front against an enemy, without counting those who are not enrolled, and who would be called out on any extraordinary emergency.

The auxiliary army of Peru, is commanded by General Belgrano; a man of high reputation for integrity and talents. He has taken great pains in forming his young officers, and in disciplining his troops; under his direction, a military academy has been established at Tucu-

m n, nd much of his attention is given to this institu-i n, where there are a number of cadets; for the patriot army is now beginning to be officered by young men, who have been regularly taught the art of war, according to the latest and most approved systems. An excellent work on tactics has lately been published at Buenos Ayres, under the patronage of the government; and Belgrano, in Peru, has taken infinite pains to encourage the study of war as a science, as well as to connect it with the most honourable, patriotic, and chivalrous sentiments; a file of newspapers, published by him at Tucuman, for the purpose of forming his young officers, contains a series of essays on their obligations and duties, which does great honour to the author. The army of Peru is at present composed of two hundred and thirty-four artillery, seven hundred and thirty-one regular cavalry, two thousand four hundred and twenty infantry; making a total of three thousand three hundred and eighty-five, without counting civicos and militia.

The *army of the Andes* is under the command of the celebrated San Martin; it is, at present, in Chili, in the pay of that government. It is composed entirely of regulars, and is said to be officered by the flower of the Buenos Ayrean youth, entirely formed by San Martin; who, in the excellence of his discipline, and in the pains which he takes to instruct his officers, even exceeds Belgrano. His second in command, is general Antonio Balcarce. His force consists of four hundred and sixty-seven artillery, twelve hundred and twelve cavalry, (very superior,) and three thousand three hundred and ninety-eight infantry; making an aggregate of five thousand and seventy-seven.

The *rmy of the Enire Rios* is under the command of Mar s Balcarce. By the official return, it contains sixty-t o artillery, five hundred and seventy-eight in-

fantry, three hundred and thirty-six cavalry; in a , one thousand and six. It is called the auxiliary army of the Entre Rios, from the circumstance of having marched, as alledged by Buenos Ayres, for the protection of the inhabitants of that province, at their solicitation, from Artigas.

At Cordova, there are stationed five hundred and forty-eight regulars; which, with the civicos at that place, constitute a total of two thousand four hundred and fifty-five. At Mendoza there are eighty-two regulars, but there has been no return of its civicos, or militia; as is also the case with respect to the provinces of Salta, Catamarca, Rioja, San Louis, San Juan, and Tucuman. Excepting the troops in the pay of the state, and the civicos and militia of Buenos Ayres, the amount of the military force must be left to the uncertain estimate of the number of the population, and the peculiar habits and manners of the people. The country people, (or gauchos,) were not permitted, under the Spanish government, to carry any weapon but the knife; at present, the only one prohibited. Fire-arms were exceedingly scarce; it is, therefore, not to be expected, that the gauchos should contribute much to the national strength, until after having undergone some apprenticeship to arms. But they are by no means difficult to be trained; and as any one may now procure fire-arms, the number owned by individuals must be considerable. As no general system, however, for arming and training the militia, has yet been carried into effect in the provinces, it is impossible to say how far this force can be depended on. In the provinces under Belgrano, there are a great number of partisan chiefs, who carry on a kind of independent irregular warfare, and are therefore not noticed in the return. In the cities of Tucuman, Salta, and Jujuy, there are corps of civicos ready to join the regulars if

necessary; as they have in every instance in which the Spaniards ventured to attack those cities. The total given in the table, that is to say, twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, may very safely be taken as the lowest estimate of the effective force; of these, about one half are regulars in the pay of the state. The different kinds of force, are in the following proportions; one thousand two hundred and ninety-six artillery, thirteen thousand six hundred and ninety-three infantry, and fourteen thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight cavalry.

These troops are all well clothed and armed, and the pay of the officers and men about the same as that of the army of the United States. In recruiting, they experience the same difficulties that we do from the high price of labour, and from the freedom and independence to which the country people have always been accustomed. The present government has even attempted stronger measures than were resorted to by the viceroys; it has attempted a conscription, but without success. The practice of impressment, resorted to in the Brazils, as the regular and ordinary mode of raising soldiers, would not be tolerated. The alcaldes, however, or village magistrates, are required to arrest all vagabonds who have no visible means of livelihood, and send them to the quarters, or barracks, where they are roughly handled until broken in. Abuses, no doubt, take place, which tend to foster the antipathy of the peasantry to the *portenos*, or inhabitants of the port, though not to render the cause of independence unpopular: as in our country, it will be in this class of people, that the cause will last fall into disrepute. One of the consequences of this mode of enlistment, is frequent desertions, which however, are not punished with death, unless they be ap-

prehended on their way to the enemy; a circumstance that scarcely ever occurs. A good effect is produced even by this forced schooling; the soldier returns amongst his comrades deprived of a portion of his wild ferocity.

The most effectual plan fallen upon by the government for recruiting their forces, has been the purchase of negro slaves, entering them as soldiers, under the condition of giving them their liberty, after two years service. About a fourth of the regulars are blacks, have been thus purchased, and are not inferior to any troops in the world. This policy has many other excellent effects; the smallness of the negro population precludes all idea of danger to the state from their putting arms in their hands, and the condition of slavery being so different in this country from any other part of South America.

The naval force consists of fifteen small vessels, carrying from seven to fourteen guns, with ninety-four marines, and one hundred and eighty-five seamen. They are in expectation of considerable additions shortly. A few days before we left Buenos Ayres, a fine English armed brig, with a complement of one hundred and fifty English sailors, and commanded by a lieutenant in the English navy, arrived at Buenos Ayres; and there is little doubt, belonging to the government of that place, at least brought there for sale. The people made many inquiries of me whether the vessels which they expected from the United States, would soon arrive. A squadron will be absolutely necessary for their joint operation against Lima. They have ten or twelve privateers in commission, which annoy the Spanish commerce so much, that it has almost disappeared from the ocean.

In their arsenals and manufactory of arms, they have fourteen thousand stand; in their different parks, they have an extraordinary quantity of fine cannon and field artillery,

and in their public stores, a great abundance of munitions of war, of every description. They have the finest brass cannon I ever saw; the greater part of which belonged to the king. Their supplies of this nature are, in fact, more like those of some old and powerful state, than of one so recently established; they will not have to expend any large sums in these things for many years.

The gauchos around Buenos Ayres, might be mistaken for regulars on their coming to town, dressed in the uniform furnished them by the state, generally on horseback with a long sword by their sides; they are fond of appearing thus *en militaire*. The city exhibits a great portion of soldiery, drums continually beating, trumpets braying, and troops every where in motion. There are several extensive barracks distributed through the city, filled chiefly with black troops. The regulars are but the soldiers of the republic, and are carefully restrained from insulting the citizens; but these are also soldiers wi arms in their hands, who would not submit to outrage. There are no guards patrolling the streets in the day time, as in the Brazillian cities, and insolently jostling the passengers from the pavements. I saw nothing, however, like awing the citizens by military force, as some have pretended. Where, in fact, the principal military strength lies in the civicos and militia, it is not possible that such should be the case. In no instance has the regular force arrayed itself against the citizens; it was attempted by the director Alvear, but he was almost instantly abandoned. The idea of Buenos Ayres being a military republic, and governed by an army of Jannisairies, like Algiers, is entirely without foundation; if it be a military republic the power is in the hands of its citizens; but such mistakes are easily made by superficial

servers, who are unable to assign things to their proper causes. It must be recollected, that these people are at war for their existence, it is therefore not surprising their towns should exhibit the appearance of military camps. The appearance of our cities during the late war, might have given rise to the same error.

When we consider what these brave people have achieved against the British on two memorable occasions, we may form some idea of what they can do now, when so much more enlightened, so much more accustomed to the use of arms, having an abundance of good officers, and actuated by an enthusiasm in defence of their sacred cause, not to be surpassed. In an attempt by Spain upon the liberties of this promising republic, she would find even women and children in the ranks, by the side of their friends. Spain can send no force sufficient to make an impression on them, even if she were to leave all the other colonies to shift for themselves.

The seat of the war with Spain is at present in Peru, at least fifteen hundred miles from Buenos Ayres. For the last six or eight months, no action of any importance has taken place; but there is scarcely a mail from that quarter, which does not bring an account of a skirmish, usually an attack upon some foraging party of the enemy, and the attack being made to advantage, almost always proves successful. I have materials for making a synopsis of these partisan affairs, which will show that in the course of the year, they are equal to several general engagements. The Spanish general Serna, at the head of about six thousand men, holds nothing more than the ground which his troops actually occupy, and there is no doubt, that the consequences of a retreat or of a successful attack by Belgrano, will be the immediate declaration of the people in favour of liberty and

independence; they have been treated by the Spaniards with the utmost severity, and are only kept down by the exercise of the most revolting cruelties. The great proportion of submissive and timid Indians in the population of these countries, tends much to favour the Spaniards, and gives them advantages over the patriots, who, through policy, if for no other reason, adopt a different cause. The Indians are continually impressed into the Spanish armies, and accustomed, as they have been for centuries, to the most abject obedience and slavery, they not only tamely submit to their fate, but even make excellent soldiers. One might almost be warranted in concluding with some misanthropists, that *obedience* is all that is requisite in the materials of armies, an excellence the greater, the nearer its approach to a machine. The late glorious battle in Chili, however, has proved that there is a *moral force*, before which this machine must give way, where the chances of the contest are at all equal. Without the aid of the wretched Indians, the Spaniards would not be able to raise and maintain an army in upper Peru, for the number of European soldiers is not more than sufficient to hold them together, and keep them in subjection. Desertions, are, notwithstanding, very frequent, and contribute considerably to recruit the army of Belgrano, while, it is said as a fact, that no inducement can prevail on the patriot prisoners to join the enemy.

Although the Spaniards have obstinately rejected every offer for the exchange of prisoners, ever since the commencement of the war, they have been compelled to pursue a different course from that in their other colonies, where the patriot prisoners are at once put to death as traitors. The number of prisoners is very considerable, and although distributed at distant points in the territory of the republic, they have

become a source of no small uneasiness. Upwards of three hundred commisioned officers have been taken even within the course of the present year, several of whom were of high rank, and many have been prisoners for the last five or six years. Repeated attempts have been made by Buenos Ayres, to negociate an exchange, but without success. It is not long since two colonels were enabled to make their escape, with the aid of the English naval commander on this station, to the great displeasure of the people. On their arrival at Rio Janeiro, they published their statement as to the treatment they alleged to have experienced; they have been refuted in the Buenos Ayres gazettes, it being made satisfactorily to appear, that they had disgracefully violated their parole, and that the Spanish prisoners were treated with uncommon lenity, while the patriot officers in a similar situation, were confined in dungeons and unwholesome prisons. Nothing can be more preposterous, than such a complaint on the part of the Spaniards; on this subject, the history of our own war will enable us to form correct notions.

The possession of the Peruvian provinces is of great moment in many points of view, besides that of being the frontier of the enemy, who continually threatens the lower provinces. The population of the provinces held by the Spaniards, is at least double that of the remainder, although a great proportion of it is made up of the civilized Indians. It is in the provinces of Cochabamba, Potosi, Los Charcas, and La Paz, that the principal wealth of the republic is to be found; their various and valuable mines, the lucrative trade, which their geographical position must always ensure to the capital, upon which they depend for a supply of European articles, as well as upon the in-

termediate provinces for many articles of first necessity, render the contest in this quarter, therefore, of vital importance. Buenos Ayres is the natural outlet of the productions of these interior provinces, and it is the most convenient port from which to receive their returns. Unless the war terminates successfully in this quarter, Buenos Ayres, from being a great emporium, must dwindle away, until the fertile plains around it shall acquire population, and industry create new objects of commerce; the efforts made by the republic in the war of Peru, since 1811, have been worthy of its importance. Many millions have been expended, and many thousand brave men have sacrificed their lives in the conflict. The connexion with Chili is also of great moment. Chili has some of the most valuable mines in South America, but she has also a sea-coast and ports, which the Peruvian provinces have not; she is, therefore, not so much dependent on Buenos Ayres as an emporium; but the transportation of many commodities across the mountains, is preferable to the delay and risk of a long sea voyage; there will, therefore, continue to be carried on a considerable trade through Mendoza. But in a military point of view, Buenos Ayres could never be safe with a powerful army posted in Chili; while, besides the benefits of a considerable inland trade, the having a friend there, is an incalculable advantage, an advantage which is reciprocal between these two republics. Fortune and his good sword, have twice given victory to San Martin; the determination manifested by the people of Chili in the last campaign, leaves but little hope to Spain, from another invasion, even if she possessed the means of making it. The next thing will be the effort to expel the Spaniards from all Peru; and if this should prove successful, the Spanish power in America will be at an end. The fall of Quito, of Granada, of Caraccas, and finally of

Mexico, will follow, as one link succeeds another in the connected chain of events.

When the peculiar situation of the Spanish colonies is taken into view, the establishment of a permanent and regular system of finance appears to present the greatest difficulties. Many of the principal sources of revenue resorted to by the old government, would cease, as being oppressive and unpopular. The Indian tribute was abolished, monopolies done away, duties on imports and exports diminished, the alcavala reduced to a simple tax on retailers, and the mines afforded no regular supply. The deficiency had to be made up by voluntary donations, which in the early stages of the revolution, were extremely liberal, and by confiscations of the property of the Spanish royalists, who openly espoused the cause of the king. The great increase in the consumption of European goods, and their fall in value, are circumstances to be taken into consideration. How far the increase of consumption makes up for the differences in the former rate of duties and price of merchandise, together with the interruption in the trade with Peru, or how far this trade is interrupted, are questions that I shall not pretend to answer. It is highly probable that some of the goods introduced into Buenos Ayres, still find their way to Peru, and some of the specie of those provinces may be smuggled out. What amount was coined by Buenos Ayres in 1812 and 1814, when in possession of the mines of Potosi, I am unable to say.

By contrasting the receipts from the different branches of the revenue under the royal government with the present, the reader will be able to form a more precise idea. They were divided into four branches.

1. The duties of gold and silver coin, which amounted to .... dollars	650,000
On the coinage, 120,000—Tribute of the Indians, 550,000; making the total amount	1,320,000
2. The second branch consisted of the Alcavala, (duties on sale of goods) 305,000. Minor duties or excise, 200,000. Stamp duty, 32,000. Receipts of the customs, 750,000	1,367,000
3. Bulls of Cruzada, 160,000. Ecclesiastical annats, 30,000. Royal ninths, 72,000	262,000
4. Profits on monopoly of quicksilver, tobacco, and gunpowder, 350,000. Assiento on negroes, 200,000. Trade in the herb of Paraguay, 500,000. Revenues belonging to the suppressed order of the Jesuits, 400,000	1,450,000
Total	4,399,000

The revenues of the state, are at present almost entirely levied in the province of Buenos Ayres, with the exception of about two hundred thousand dollars collected from the province of Cuyo, Tucuman, Cordova, and Salta. The receipts of the customs is the only indirect tax which falls on the provinces generally, and its proceeds are faithfully appropriated to the support of the common cause. The duties on stamps are still continued, but do not afford any great amount of revenue. The tables annexed to the report of Mr. Rodney, exhibit a concise view of the receipts and expenditures, as well as the outstanding debts of the state. The receipts of the customs amounted to one million one hundred thousand dollars, which may be regarded as about the average. It is the largest item in the account of their receipts. In consequence of the high rate of duties which had been established under the mistaken idea that they fall entirely upon strangers, a good deal of smuggling was occasioned. Through the representation of English mer-

claims, and experience of the evil, they have since been induced to lower them considerably. They ought to be extremely cautious how they give occasion to a renewal of the old system of corruption and bribery, which had fallen into disgrace in the republic, when formerly nothing was disreputable but detection.

An important item is composed of loans from native and foreign merchants, not altogether voluntary; what degree of constraint may be used, I know not, nor am I prepared to say how far a people contending for their existence would be justifiable in going. A considerable portion of this debt, which does not much exceed a million, has been extinguished by Pueyrredon, since he came to the office, by pledging the receipts of the customs for its payment. A part of this fund is also set apart for the payment of the pensions granted to widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the contest. No government ever displayed more gratitude to the defenders of the country in proportion to its means.

There is another *irregular* mode of raising money, which falls heavily upon individuals, though intended to be borne by the community, as there never has yet been established any system of direct taxation. Perhaps *contributions* would be more willingly submitted to, from the idea that they were only called for by the occasion, and would cease with it, which would not be the case with a direct tax. Last year, for instance, the sum of seventy-eight thousand four hundred and eighty-three dollars was apportioned among the different *gremios*, or bodies.

On the commercial class............dollars	32,627
On ship owners..........................	1,465
On various classes of people.............	15,240
On house rents..........................	17,147
Contributions levied in the country..........	4,325

The old Spaniards are occasionally called upon, and

are required to pay liberally. Considerable sums have been drawn from the revenues of the monasteries. There are besides, large sums levied from butchers and bakers, and considered a species of indirect taxon the people. The bakers are the millers, and also the dealers in wheat. This tax was very heavy, but has since been reduced. The contributions of last year to the amount of eight thousand dollars monthly, fell upon thirty bakers.

The proceeds of the post-office leave a small balance in favour of the state, but when the communication with Peru was uninterrupted, it yielded at least thirty thousand dollars clear of expenses. Since the liberation of Chili, it has somewhat augmented. The increase in population will render this a very lucrative source of revenue to the government; as all the establishments on the great roads belong to the state, which provide the relays of horses for travellers at the different stages.

The sales of public lands is also an item amounting to about a thousand dollars annually. It must increase, and if judiciously managed, it will become of great importance in future, and in the meanwhile, afford a security to public credit. They still pursue the Spanish practice, of making large grants for *estancias*, or grazing estates. No system like that of the United States has been thought of, but their is no doubt that if their government once acquires the character of being permanently established, emigration from Europe to this country will take place, and the public lands will become of sufficient value to justify their being laid off in small tracks.

The public property to which the state has become entitled, as the heir to the kings of Spain, is estimated at nine millions, consisting of public works and edifices, forts, church glebes, escheats, &c. The property of the state, independently of these, consisting of arms, munitions of war, public vessels, furniture of offices, library,

good debts, and a variety of smaller items, amounts to more than eight millions. There is besides a vast deal of property formerly appertaining to the king, which is not taken into the account. With very ample means of securing the payment of loans, it is surprising that they have not been able to establish a credit abroad, especially as their domestic debt is so small. It must be attributed in part to the circumstance of the administration having undergone such frequent changes, and thus giving a character of insecurity to the engagements of the government, which is by no means a necessary consequence; for even where the change has been effected in a tumultuous and disorderly manner, this had no effect upon the previous engagements and contracts; the administration only was changed, the government itself was not dissolved. Nothing has so much injured their credit, as the unfavourable accounts spread abroad of their internal convulsions, and the instability of their government, for which there has been heretofore, unfortunately, but too much foundation. They have, however, become fully aware of its injurious consequences, and for the last three or four years, nothing of the kind has occurred; the administration has continued regular, and has only been changed in an orderly and constitutional manner. Perhaps the circumstances of their not having declared absolute independence until July, 1816, may have prevented them from obtaining the credit abroad which they otherwise would, from the uncertainty of their ultimate intentions, as long as they continued to profess a willingness to return to their allegiance to Ferdinand. Another reason may also be suggested by the experience of our revolutionary war. The important services rendered by Robert Morris are well known, and cannot be remembered with too much gratitude; we could almost as ill have spared him in our finance, as our Franklin in the

cabinet, or Washington in the field. In South America, there might possibly be Franklins and Washingtons, but there could be no Morrisses, for this reason, that they had no commercial relations with any foreign country: in fact they had no merchants.* Fortunately they are beginning to rise from these difficulties: should their government continue to be conducted for a few years to come as it has been for the few last, there is no danger but that they will be able to borrow more money than Spain. Money is justly said to be the sinews of war; without the assistance of Holland and France, our struggle would have been much more protracted, and if the United States or Great Britain, should think proper to assist the United Provinces, by simply guaranteeing the payment of a loan, the Spanish power in South America would breathe its last in the course of eighteen months.

By the treasury account of 1816, the expenditures fell somewhat short of the amount received, including a loan of eight hundred thousand dollars. The army expenses amounted to nearly a million; and the sums of three hundred and fifty thousand, and four hundred thousand dollars, were transmitted to the United States and Great Britain in bills of exchange, for the purchase of military and naval equipments. For several years past, large sums have been transmitted in the same manner.

The civil list falls in amount much below what might

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* Among the plans for raising money, that of a lottery was thought of, but not adopted. The Congress as recently established a national bank; but great prejudices exist in the minds of the lower classes of the people against paper money. It will be almost impossible to substitute, under a considerable length of time, any circulating medium for gold or silver. It is possible, however, that the paper money may circulate in large sums, and by this means be of service; at least there is reason to believe that loans will be facilitated by the bank, which is an important consideration.

have been expected; perhaps, however, this is only the sum charged on the revenues of the state.* The statement given to Mr. Rodney, contains only the gross amount under the different branches of revenue, but in the yearly accounts published for the information of the public, (which I procured for several years back) the items are set forth. Formerly most offices were paid by established fees instead of salaries, which gave rise to great abuse. Much has been done towards remedying this evil, although not entirely accomplished. The receipts and expenditure for 1817, were as follows:

Receipts from every branch of the revenue, dollars	3,037,187 5½
Expenditures	3,003,224 4½
In the treasury	33,963 1½

In the foregoing statement, I have passed over the revenues of the different cities or cabildos, which are considerable, and to which the state can have recourse in case of necessity. Those of the city and province alone exceed three hundred thousand dollars, and arise from a variety of sources, such as the rents of property belonging to the corporation, tax on retailers, on auctions, on the theatre and circus, from the *corrals*, or places for confining cattle brought to market, and a variety of minor sources.† A considerable surplus is left, after defraying all the expenses of the police, and the salaries of officers. A few of the items of the account published while I was

* The salary of the director is twelve thousand dollars—of the secretary of state, of the treasury of war, of the commissary-general, three thousand each—the subordinate officers have about the same salaries as those in the different offices in the government of the United States.

† About one hundred thousand head of cattle are confined in these enclosures in the course of the year, at twenty-five cents. each. There are about six hundred retailers, who pay fifteen dollars each.

at Buenos Ayres will shew that they have something to spare after meeting the ordinary expenses.

Premiums and expenses of celebrating the 25th of May, doll.	10,306
Widows and invalids	[illegible]
Church ceremonies	1,530
Presents to Indians	527
	30,693

The expenses of church ceremonies on great occasions, amount to a considerable sum. A part is now appropriated to the celebration of their political festivals. There are some things in these celebrations that are worthy of imitation. Instead of civic feasts, at which people strive to outdo each other in eating and drinking, they contrive a variety of public exhibitions much more conformable to reason and good taste. For instance, a certain number of the most meritorious slaves are purchased and set free, sums are set apart and drawn by lot, to aid mechanics who are desirous of setting up their trades; marriage portions are also distributed among a certain number of young girls. The names of those who are successful are afterwards published, with an account of all the ceremonies of the occasion. The whole no doubt tending to produce very important effects on the minds of the common people.

Some observations have already been made on the commerce of these countries. The foreign commerce might properly be called passive, as none of the natives owned ships, and their produce was carried away by foreigners or Spaniards. If there were merchants here as in the United States, who could send the various products of the country to market, a considerable commerce would soon grow up. The produce of the plains, has for a long time formed the most important

item of th exports, next to the gold and silver brought from Peru The number of hides annually exported exceeds half a million, with a proportion of tallow, horns, salted and jerk beef. Horse skins, sheep skins, common wool, that of the guanaco and vicuna, furs, goose wings, ostrich feathers, not as good as those of Senegal, but in proportion much cheaper, are also among the articles of export. The copper of Coquimbo, considerable quantities of which are brought to Buenos Ayres from Chili, is said to contain a portion of gold worth the expense of extraction. Tin is brought from some of the mines of Peru, and sold for about twenty dollars the quintal. The Jesuits bark, especially that of Loxa, could be more conveniently shipped from Buenos Ayres, than from the ports of Peru. Dried apples and peaches, figs, raisins, walnuts, olives, will become important articles of commerce. I have tasted some of their peach brandy, and found it of a very superior quality; from the great extent of their peach orchards, it can be made in any quantity. Hemp and flax are well suited to the soil. Some flax-seed has been exported. The salt of the prairies is said to be equal in whiteness, strength, and purity, to any in the world. The greater part of the articles enumerated, may be exported either to Europe, or to other parts of America to great advantage. Tobacco, equal to that of Carracas, may be raised in the rich alluvion of Buenos Ayres, and on the Parana. This article was formerly monopolized by the government, and the cultivator was compelled to take such price only, as it chose to fix: his attention was of course directed to something else, and the tobacco of Brazil was in consequence made use of. Wonderful progress in agriculture has been made in this country since Charles III. by his edict of the 3d of October, 1778,

granted the freedom of commerce with the mother country, instead of confining it to one of its ports; notwithstanding the obstinate adherence to the old system of monopolies.

The cotton raised in Paraguay, Cordova, and Cochabamba, is said to be very beautiful, but chiefly used for home manufactures. The annual plant would be as successful in the pampas as in the Attacapas, but the inhabitants have not thought of introducing it; the perennial plant is the one cultivated throughout South America, and which gives them great advantages over us, in this important culture. The Brazil, however, in cotton and sugar, in a very few years, will come into competition with us in the European market. The sugar of Paraguay is said to surpass that of Brazil and of the West Indies, being drier and of a finer grain, which is attributed to the circumstance of the country being less exposed to heavy rains, than those within the tropics, or to humidity in the neighbourhood of the sea, by which the sugar is rendered damp. Rum of a very good quality, molasses, wine, honey, and wax, will, in time, be among the articles of export. The cocoa of Moxos and Chiquitos, coffee from several of the upper provinces, when the navigation of rivers shall be opened, good roads and canals made, will be important articles, as also indigo and cochineal.

According to an account of the trade of Buenos Ayres, published in Wilcock, the exports in the year 1796, amounted to five millions, two hundred and forty-three thousand three hundred and five dollars; of which four millions were specie. This of course must fall short of the whole amount, from the great extent to which the contraband was carried at that time. The imports of the same year were two millions, eight hundred and fifty-three thousand, nine hundred and forty-five dollars;

of which [one] million, seven hun[dr]ed and five thousand, eight hun[dr]ed and sixty six dollars were in articles furnished by Spain. The foreign articles introduced in a clandestine manner, probably exceeded this amount. During the following years, while Spain was involved in hostilities with England, a total stagnation took place in the trade with Buenos Ayres, excepting the contraband carried on by the United States, and which increased rapidly on being connived at by the government from unavoidable necessity. In the year 1798, three millions of hides were lying in the warehouses of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, but through our *friendly aid*, at the time of the capture by the British, there was no more than the annual supply. During the [most] part of this period, (on account of the annual supply of European articles being cut off,) the fabrics of the country increased rapidly, particularly the cotton and woollen manufactures of Moxos, Chiquitos, and of Cordova; and as brandies and wines were not to be procured at any prices, those of Cuyo were greatly encouraged. Goods were introduced into the audiencia of Buenos Ayres, by the ports of Arica, through Potosi and Chuquisaca, thus reversing the usual current of interior trade. But when the supply came to be once more somewhat regular, articles of European manufacture regained their ascendency; and when under the control of Spain, it was not likely that domestic manufactures would be permitted, to such extent as to interfere in any manner with Spanish monopoly. The quantity of European goods thrown in since the revolution, has had very injurious effects on the domestic manufactures, and has materially lessened the industry of a people who are slow in adopting new plans. The increased value of agricultural products, in some places, has not in general compen-

sated. A well written memorial, published at Buenos Ayres, from the landholders and others at Cuyo, urges the necessity of protecting the branches of those provinces by still further duties on those imported. There are a variety of partial evils connected with free trade, which occasion dissatisfaction among those who only reason from what they feel. The population has certainly not yet arrived at that state, when manufactures ought to be fostered. The population is yet too inconsiderable, and the number who cultivate the earth much too small. Neither Brazil nor La Plata ought to force manufacture; they ought perhaps to be checked, in order to force industry into other channels. The United States have passed that state; internal trade with us must be fostered and encouraged by varying occupations, and rendering one part of the country dependent on another. Under the government of Spain, both the foreign commerce, and domestic manufactures of the colonies, would of course be repressed.

The former restrictions on exports necessarily tended to depress agriculture. The industry of every portion of the country, would have been stimulated by a free exportation of their produce to whatsoever place a market could be found. The inhabitants of La Plata are not essentially different from the rest of the human race, and if we find them indolent and addicted to vice, we must look to those causes which invariably produce these effects; *the want of a proper stimulus to industry.* It is true, the cause which invariably urges to exertion, *necessity*, is weaker here than in most countries, on account of the facilities of obtaining a mere subsistence; but the greater part would desire, or at least might be made to desire, something more, by offering objects of comfort and lux-

ury, which the successful industry may obtain.* ... industry in the United States, is chiefly stimulated by ... wants and many things which in other nations are ranked among the luxuries of life, are looked upon by us as merely necessaries. The labourers of the poorer class, subsist in Buenos Ayres, on little else than beef and a few vegetables, and in Paraguay, on the mandioca and Indian corn; they are beyond the reach of starvation. But as the condition of society improves, as it inevitably must, by a free intercourse with strangers, they will be desirous of dressing better, living better, and furnishing their houses more decently. The country people here are easily improved and as their wheat and other productions find a ... ready sale, they will be tempted to purchase many articles from the shops, which they before never thought of. With the more wealthy inhabitants of Peru, a luxury absolutely Asiatic, prevails. It is there a matter of pride to have many clothes, made of the most costly materials. No people of America, in proportion to their number, consume so many goods of European manufacture, as the Peruvians; there is scarcely any country in the world, that offers such a market for British manufactures; and England will find it necessary to look out for some indemnity for the diminution, she is about to experience in the markets of the United States. We have no alternative, but to foster our manufactures; it is forced upon us; whether wise or not, is no longer the question—we must manufacture.

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* Formerly there was always beef enough left in the market for the use of the poor, after those who could buy were served. Persons able to buy have been known to take advantage of the circumstance, but they were as much scandalized by it, as if they had committed theft.

While at Buenos Ayres, there was much discussion among their political economists, in relation to one of their principal staples, the herds of cattle. Of late years, they were observed to have so far lessened in numbers, as to produce considerable uneasiness; much was written on the subject; some were in favour of prohibiting the exportation of salted beef, and others were of opinion, that the free exportation of this article, was in reality the most effectual mode of preventing the cattle from being wantonly destroyed, for the sake of the hides, which they alledge to have been the principal cause of the decrease. Papers were written on the subject, meetings of the owners of grazing farms were held, and the director by public notice, requested all such as could throw light on a subject so interesting to the community, to wait on him at certain hours. The subject is fully discussed in a speech by Zavaletta, delivered at a public meeting, and published in a pamphlet. It appears that before the opening of trade in 1778, the herds had multiplied prodigiously, and there were many millions running wild; but when their skins and tallow suddenly came in demand, vast numbers were killed and skinned, while the carcasses were left to rot. It is not, therefore, surprising that they rapidly decreased. Depons states, that the same circumstance took place on the plains of the Oronoko; that it did not take place in the interior provinces of New Spain, was owing to there being no markets. The *Semanario* states, that the decrease of the herds had attracted attention, but the cause was supposed to be the vast number of wild dogs, which preyed upon the calves; it was also said that many were known to perish in the dry seasons, and that thousands had been swept off by epidemics.

The price of hides has more than doubled, and as the supply diminishes to a certain degree, the price will con-

time to rise. In the plains of Buenos Ayres, the flesh of the cattle will be an object as well as the hides. Instead of prohibiting the Saladeros, under an idea that they encourage the destruction of the herds, they ought to be supported as they tend to preserve them. Perhaps, after all, the decrease of their vast herds ought not to be regarded as a public misfortune, unless the conversion of a nation of shepherds into a nation of agriculturists, be so. The capitalists will be compelled to turn their attention to the other resources of the country, and which will be productive of effects much more favourable to the national character.

On the subject of internal trade, I have already said a good deal in speaking of the different provinces or districts, I shall therefore only make a few additional remarks. It will have been observed, that this is carried on chiefly by land, but at some future day, the navigation of the rivers will give it a new direction. At present the transportation of commodities between Buenos Ayres and Jujuy, is effected by ox waggons. The price of freight varies considerably. In Peru, every commodity is transported on the backs of mules, asses, and lamas. A mule load is twelve arrobas, that of an ass five, and of the lama, three. The roads to Jujuy, as well as to Mendoza, do not pursue the most direct courses, on account of the savage hordes, who inhabit the plains on either side. The roads in Peru are the same which were travelled in the time of the Incas, and are, therefore, rough and steep. The price of transportation from one province to another, is very high; for example, a mule will go from Tacma to Potosi for twenty-four dollars, which is the price of the animal itself; the distance is one hundred and twenty leagues. The freight is seldom less than a dollar per arroba, for every twenty leagues. A waggon load of goods from Buenos Ayres to La Paz, and carry-

ing one hundred and fifty arrobas, (twenty-five pounds the arroba,) will cost three hundred dollars, to Jujuy; from this place to Potosi, two hundred and eight dollars, and to La Paz, one hundred and fifty dollars; the whole amount for this immense distance, six hundred and sixty dollars.

The Paraguay tea is thus conveyed to Peru and to Chili. The mules sent to Peru, are purchased by drovers, who bring honey, wax, cocoa, and other articles to market, together with specie. They are driven by easy journies to Salta, and as there is an abundance of grass on the road, their food costs little or nothing, until they reach the place just mentioned, where they are turned into pastures, let for the purpose. There is a great destruction of these animals in working the mines, it is therefore necessary that the supply should be constantly renewed. In the province of Buenos Ayres, Sta Fee, and Cordova, about sixty thousand are purchased annually. Tucuman also furnishes a number, as well as about twenty thousand head of cattle and sheep.* The balance of trade was at one time more than a million against Buenos Ayres, but as the foreign commerce of this place extended, it was gradually reduced. The wars of Spain were most sensibly felt by Buenos Ayres, as she became immediately dependent on Peru for a supply of foreign articles, which could only be introduced into Lima when the long navigation to Rio Plata, exposed to British cruizers, interrupted the direct intercourse with Spain.

The traffic with the neighbouring Indians, and those on

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* In the year 1789, one hundred and twenty thousand sheep were imported by the route of Cusco, from the jurisdiction of Buenos Ayres into that of Peru.

the Parana and Uruguay, require at least the amount of a million of dollars in European goods, such as are suited to the Indian trade in North America. There was also formerly a small contraband trade carried on with the Portuguese. This trade might become important.

After what has already been said on the state of literature and general informaton in South America, it would seem unnecessary to speak of its progress at Buenos Ayres. But as this subject is closely connected with their political character, it will be proper to be somewhat more minute. To discover what advancement they may have made in the midst of wars and dissentions, in that which is so essential to their respectability and happiness, is worthy of attention. But little was to have been expected, especially when we consider the depth of ignorance whence they had to emerge. Yet, when we compare the present state of information, with that which preceded the revolution, we shall rather have cause for surprise. The strictness of the Inquisition, the discouragement of schools, the prohibition of foreign books, the want of printing, the absence of subjects of general interest, are to be considered. The colonial state, is for many reasons, besides those peculiar to Spanish colonies, extremely unfavourable to the progress of science and literature. The metropolis must give its sanction before the work of the colonist can take its rank with the *national* productions. Many are the prejudices it must encounter before it can pass the ordeal of the high court of criticism. The provincial writer must always keep in view the judgment of this high court, whose stamp of approbation is indispensible. It is, perhaps, an incident of national sovereignty, for previous to the revolution, we never ventured to speak of American literature; this is now but forty years old, and we are not even yet entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of British criticism;

we must indeed bear with it, for a generation or more, and by that time, the works published in England, will have to come to us for our sanction before they can venture to take their station.

For some years before the revolution, a vast number of manifestoes, pamphlets, and addresses, published in Spain, during the invasion of Napoleon, were reprinted at Buenos Ayres. They were intended to animate the patriotism of the Spaniards, but in the colonies, had a tendency to awaken a dangerous spirit of inquiry, and to open their eyes with respect to their own condition; for by a very slight change of terms, they were in reality so many invitations to the Americans to throw off the Spanish yoke. After the revolution of the 25th May 1810, the Gazette of Buenos Ayres was established, and conducted in a very different spirit from the Semanario, as may be supposed from the motto prefixed; *Rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis; et quæ sentias dicere licet:* "Rare felicity of the times, when every one may think what he pleases, and what he thinks may speak."

Every paper contained some sprinkling of republican doctrines, and numerous essays explanatory and justificatory of the measures of the junta. Passages occasionally occur, whose boldness is very little compatible with the idea of enthusiastic attachment to Ferdinand. In a paper of 1810, there are the following words. "Nothing so much recommends a government, as the firmness with which it attacks old abuses, which have been sanctioned by many years of impunity. Smuggling, that vice so destructive to the prosperity of states—was exercised in this city with so much indifference, that it appeared to have lost its deformity. We must blush to remember those rulers, before whose eyes, was exhibited that criminal luxury, which had no other entrance, than

the contraband they protected! *Eternal hatred to those mercenary and dishonourable men, who, insensible to the good of the state, have ruined its commerce, corrupted its morals, and smothered the seeds of its felicity."* The Gazette was also filled with official letters, and addresses from the corporations of the different cities, from military chiefs, or from the junta. All appears to be life and bustle; every communication seems to breathe enthusiasm. It is the intoxication of a youth, who is permitted at last, after having been kept under the severest restrictions, to think and act for himself. The breath of liberty is on the pages of the *Gazette,* which forms a most singular contrast with the "still life" of the *Semanario.* A long account is given of the mathematical school established in the capital, on the most liberal principles, and opened in the presence of all the public functionaries, with addresses and replies, and many popular flourishes, all conveying a censure upon the old regime. The state of the treasury, the contributions of patriotic individuals, published quarterly—the enlightened essays of Blanco, editor of the Espagnol—extracts from the newspapers of the United States, one in particular from a Philadelphia paper, which gave an account of the revolution in Caraccas, noticing the words *salus populi, suprema lex esto,* as a sign of better times—all these and a variety of other articles, were inserted without comment, and therefore tacitly approved. Besides the Gazette, there was a variety of fugitive productions, as at Caraccas, according to the accounts of an eye witness.* "The press, in particular, was busily employed; which may be accounted for from the severity with which it was restricted under the former govern-

* Mayer's Memoirs of the Revolution of Caraccas.

ment; a va number of pamphlets made their appearance; written with purity and elegance of style,* but containing more words than solid ideas. The creoles seemed to be desirous of indemnifying themselves for past privations, in publishing satiric pamphlets against their rivals in ambition, and in abusing the Spanish government."

Among the productions issued from the press during the first year of the revolution, I observed a translation of Rousseau's Social Compact, by Dr. Moreno. The translation is well executed, and seems to have been much relished by the middle class of people. But it is difficult to say whether it was not more injurious than beneficial; it was likely to make raw and visionary politicians, whose notions not having sound practical experience, (perhaps the only way in which nations can be instructed,) for their basis, would be as wild as various; every man, as in the French revolution, would have a plan of his own, while his intolerance for the opinion of his neighbour, proved that some of the dross of despotism continued to adhere to him. The press was only comparatively free—the conduct of those at the head of the government, does not appear to have been much canvassed. Perhaps as the leaders of the revolution were acting against a common enemy, it was not to be expected that the newspapers would yet be taken up with family faults. There was therefore a disposition to indulge, at least to refrain from exposing—perhaps the government would not permit itself to be weakened, when it required every aid to give it strength. The American government during our revolutionary war, (if this be considered a

* Humboldt observes this difference between the Mexicans and the South Americans.

ori[illegible] of the liberty of the press,) was not much abused by Whigs, all good citizens endeavoured to support its character [illegible]. The *imprimatur* was still kept up at Buenos Ayres, and not abolished until the revolution which took place the following year.

During the succeeding years, the taste for reading rapidly increased, and publications also augmented. The restrictions on the importation and circulation of books, although not entirely removed, were greatly relaxed. Types and presses were imported, and printing became a lucrative employment. A public library was set on foot by Dr. Moreno, and the subjects discussed in [illegible]tions were less abstract; they became more immediately interesting on account of their reasonings upon real occurrences among themselves, and the application of those principles to the events of the day. It is necessary first to learn the theory of political liberty, and afterwards its application.

The revolution of 1813 gave a new impulse to every thing. In tracing the progress of the press, which may be regarded as the progress of liberty, I was indeed astonished at the advancement made in three short years. The quantum and the quality of their publications seem to have kept pace. The republic had assumed a higher tone, and their speculations were now of a bolder cast. [illegible] oration of Monteagudo to the society of La Patria, neatly printed, contains a number of admirable political sentiments. It is pure republicanism: ignorance, he says, is the cause of all the misfortunes of man in his present state—sovereignty resides in the people alone, and authority in the laws; he explains the words, equality, security, liberty, as we should. In fact, it is a production [illegible] creditable to the author and to the people to whom it is addressed. A political sermon of Funes, the year following, might be [illegible]ted, both as a specimen of

fine composition, and of the little respect now paid to royalty, it might further be cited as a proof, that the idea, so common, of the catholic religion being incompatible with the principles of free government, is not correct. The following is the concluding sentence of a most vivid exposition of the abuses practised in America, by the kings of Spain: "Under his iron sceptre, there was room for no virtue but that of enduring with resignation the ills of slavery, from which there was no hope of relief but in death. A man, bearing the name of king, having annihilated every right, and made himself the centre of all earthly power, seemed to say to us,—*your possessions and your blood are mine—go suffer and die.* Oh God! can it be possible that fifteen millions of souls, have been doomed to wretchedness, in order that one man may be made wicked!"

Each succeeding internal revolution gave rise to numerous publications. In 1815, after the fall of Alvear, public liberty seemed to acquire an accelerated motion, like water interrupted in its course, until its gathering weight enables it to burst its mounds. A flood of publications was poured upon a people who had been gradually acquiring the habit of turning their attention with eagerness to the press, as the fountain of liberty. A periodical paper was established by the cabildo, called the Censor, to be devoted to the interest of the people, as the ministerial gazette was to the views of the government, and a salary was assigned to its editor. It was made his duty to publish a political essay every week, in order to diffuse general information. A number of journals were now attempted by individuals, but the greater part were of short duration for want of support.* The

* I think it very doubtful whether the liberty of the press, can exist in its perfection in any country where THE TRIAL BY JURY IS NOT WELL UNDERSTOOD AND PRACTISED.

Croni Argentina, was more successful; it was conducted with some spirit, and approached nearer to what we should call a *party paper*, than any yet established. The utmost boldness and freedom appears to prevail in the pages of this journal, whose editor at once stepped up to the mark of democracy; from which we may infer, that its sentiments at this time were popular. Unfortunately, it was often too inflammatory and abusive towards individuals, and therefore calculated to produce a bad effect on a people so little accustomed to the licentiousness of the press; with whom, even simple strictures on the conduct of public men, become *denunciations*. There was, however, no cry of *a la lanterne*, as among the French. They might, perhaps, have had their Robespierean demagogues, but they were not surrounded by such inflammable materials as the mob of Paris. A people must be gradually accustomed to the blessings of a free press, it seems, as well as to the other blessings of a free government, before the good which flows from its legitimate use, will counterbalance the evils which arise from its abuse. Reason, it is true, is left free to combat error; and with us reason is strong enough to combat it, but this may not be the case every where. It must be in a community where the people are in some measure enlightened, for every community is not equally capable of reasoning, although it may possess many individuals of great learning and talents. It is the pride of the United States, that if there be not persons here as profoundly learned as in France or England, our citizens are in general better informed. But a people not in the habit of reasoning on all political subjects, are apt to consider words as things. The *unbounded liberty of the press* was well advocated in the *Cronica*, and supported by English and American authority; but the editor of the Censor, who subscribed to the proposition in the

abstract, cont nded that the cou[illegible] was not yet ripe for its full enjoym nt; that the effect of a printed [illegible], upon a peop e just emerging from t tal d[illegible], would be to place he best government i the hands of th worst m n; that when false warnings are frequently repeated, the people become heedless when warned of real danger, an despotism enters without opposition.

A paper war was carried on by these editors for some months, on a subject calculated to put to test the public opinion. General Belgrano, and Guemes, (governor of Salta,) in opening the campaign in the upper provinces, issued proclamations announcing to the Indians, the resolution of restoring the Incas. The e people [illegible] to venerate the memory of the kings, who ruled over them, before they were reduced to barbarous slavery by the Spanish conquerors, and the insurrection of Tup c Amaru, was still fresh in their memories. Upon them, the words liberty and independence, the rights of man, and topics calculated to rouse the Spanish Americans, could not be expected to have as much effect, as the restoration of their beloved Incas, whose reign is considered by them as the golden age. The editor of the Cronica took up the affair seriously, aud a contest ensued between h m and the editor of the Censor, who undertook to de end Belgrano, and to maintain the idea of a limited mona chy. On reading the discussion, it is very easily see [illegible] had the popular side. The Cronica dressed up ll the usual arguments, urged among us against kings nd nobles; frequently quoting Paine, and the writers of o r country; his ideas possessed all the z st of novelty n Buenos Ayres, and probably produced a good effect nc withstanding the unnec ssary abuse of Belgrano and Guemes. On the side f the Censo, the limited mo narchy was but feebly up orted, the editor freque tly assert ng his righ to entertain nd expre s what opinions

he pleased. The Cabildo put an end to this newspaper war, the first which had been known here, by peremptorily ordering the Censor to cease, *on the score that the public tranquillity had been disturbed.* The editorship was not long after changed to other hands, and the paper has since advanced nothing but republican principles;* its editor, Henriques, is a Chilian of considerable literary acquirements, of a philanthropic turn of mind, and an enthusiastic admirer of our institutions, which he has endeavoured to explain to his fellow citizens. He understands the English language extremely well, and translates from our newspapers such articles as are likely to be useful.

There are at present two weekly journals published on a small scale; but as they are yet but little in the habit of inserting public notices and advertisements, which render a paper profitable, and useful to men in business, their circulation is perhaps less general than it would otherwise be. Copies of notices are multiplied with the pen, instead of being printed, which may in part be owing to the expense; even the play bills are in manuscript. About two thousand of each of the established

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* The following are a few of the subjects of the political essays of the Censor for 1817: An explanation of the constitution of the United States, and highly praised—the Lancasterian system of education—the causes of the prosperity of the United States—Milton's essay on the liberty of the press—a review of the work of the late President Adams, on the American constitution, and a recommendation of checks and balances, continued through several numbers, and abounding with much useful information for the people—brief notice of the life of James Monroe president of the United States—examination of the federative system—on the trial by jury—on popular elections—on the effect of enlightened productions on the condition of mankind—an analysis of the several state constitutions of the Union, &c. &c.

journals are circulated every week; they find their way to the most remote parts of the country; and, as was somewhat the case with some parts of our country, one newspaper serves a whole neighbourhood; it is usually read by the curate after mass, at the same time with the manifestoes.* The proceedings of the congress are printed every month, and circulated in the same manner. A great number of essays are also published in loose sheets, and retailed at the stalls, instead of being inserted in the journals. In the collection of these papers which I made, I have several anniversary orations, an eulogium on the United States, an essay by an European Spaniard showing the advantages of the present government of Buenos Ayres, and its superiority over that of Spain; a pamphlet against Artigas, a defence of the conduct of Alvear in the capture of Monte Video,† in answer to the accusation of the Spanish General Vigodet, and before the downfall of Alvear; a tolerable translation of the tragedy of Pizarro, the Battle of Marathon, an original play, and a play by C. Henriques; memorial of the landholders of Mendoza, vindication of the conduct of Pueyrredon from the attacks made in the Baltimore Patriot; discussion on a question of political economy, carried on at some length on the subject of *saladeros*, (places for salting beef for exportation.) But by far the most fruitful source of these productions, is the quarrels between the aspirants to distinction, who frequently call upon the tribunal of the republic, to applaud or condemn. These papers are all extremely well written. It is not alone in these lighter publications, that the press

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* Those published during the revolution, would make a folio volume of considerable size.

† Written by Garcia, who is one of their best writers.

is employed: the work of Dean Funes already mentioned, in three large octavo volumes, would do honour to the literature of any country. In the opinion of the best judges, in point of purity and elegance of style, it is equal to any work in the Spanish language; the dedication *to his country* is a fine specimen of eloquence.

There being no direct communication with Spain, nearly all the school books are printed in the country. I have an excellent original grammar of the language, and a system of arithmetic, published in 1817. Their catechisms and books for schools, are mostly original, it being necessary to expunge the monarchical dogmas which they usually contain. There are three printing offices, and all seem to be doing a good business. I was much pleased with that of Dr. Anchores, who has three presses almost always employed. He told me that he had gone to England himself to procure types and presses: "I considered," said he, "that I was performing my part in this revolution if I could succeed in my project of spreading the mechanic art of printing. I took a number of boys, to whom I have paid wages, as an enducement to them to engage in the business, and to render it desirable to others; the number of workmen will in a few years be sufficient to enable us to establish presses in all the principal towns; and printing, which has already fallen one-third, will bear a due proportion to other labour. I know well the importance of this precious art, to a country which aspires to be free. I shall have contributed my full share to the independence of my country, if I succeed." He was then printing for the government, a system of military discipline, to be introduced into the armies, adapted by some of their military men to the situation of the country. He was also publishing the celebrated letters of Iturry, in

vindication of America, and of the American. This is truly an admirable performance; it may be regarded as a sequel to that part of Mr. Jefferson's notes on Virginia, which treats of the same subject. There is a translation of Mr. De Pradt's *Six Months*, by Cavia, one of the secretaries in the department of state, a young man of fine talents. Political writings seem to be for the present almost exclusively in demand. I saw a translation of Bisset's "Sketch of Democracy," which I was informed by the booksellers, had met with a rapid sale. This work might possibly have a salutary effect on a people who are in danger of running wild in their notions of liberty; and who, like the French, would be desirous of taking Greece or Rome as their model. The work is not worth much; it selects all that is bad in the ancient and modern republics, (it is honourably silent, however, on the subject of the United States,) without any of the good; *and this is contrasted with the meagre list of doubtful advantages of a limited monarchy, like that of England.*

All restraints on the circulation of books, no matter what may be the subject treated of, are not merely removed, but in order to encourage the importation, they are suffered to be introduced free of duties. A domiciliary visit would now be an insult. I have seen the works of Voltaire publicly offered for sale in the book stores, which would formerly have been a penal offence. The French is much more familiar to them than the English, which is, perhaps, to be regretted; as the French revolutionary politics have been proved by experience to be unsafe. The writings of Franklin, the Federalist, and other American works, are frequently quoted; but, in general, even the best English and American productions find their way

through the medium of French translations. The English language is, however, beginning of late to be much more attended to than formerly. There are in circulation, Spanish translations of many of our best revolutionary writings. The most common are two miscellaneous volumes, one containing Paine's Common Sense, and Rights of Man, and Declaration of Independence, several of our constitutions, and General Washington's Farewell Address; the other is an abridged History of the United States, down to the year 1810, with a good explanation of the nature of our political institutions, accompanied with a translation of Mr. Jefferson's inaugural speech, and other state papers. I believe these have been read by nearly all who can read, and have produced a most extravagant admiration of the United States, at the same time accompanied with something like despair. Of the state library, I have already spoken; it is a noble monument of the public spirit of these people, and their desire to elevate their national character. Should Spain ever succeed in subjugating them, *the library, like that of Alexandria, will probably be consigned to the flames.*

It remains to speak of the public schools, and the progress of education. This is a subject which excites the deepest interest. There are at present about one hundered and fifty students at the university of Cordova, and the course of studies there has been entirely reformed.* The college of the UNION OF THE SOUTH, is said to be a splendid establishment; twenty thousand dollars have been expended in fitting it up, and in purchasing philosophical apparatus.

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* The American clergy and lawyers are in general very familiar with the Latin classics.

The cabildo of Buenos Ayres expends annually about ten thousand dollars for the support of common schools; and at the different monastries there are not less than three hundred scholars taught to read by the monks, who are thus rendered useful. A part of the tythes has been appropriated for the establishment of primary schools in the country. No people were ever more sensible of their deficiency in point of education, than these appear to be, or more anxious to remedy it. The public examinations take place in the presence of the supreme director, and the other public functionaries; and an account is published in the papers, with the names of those who have excelled in the different branches of learning. There are several military academies, where a number of youth, who intend to embrace the military profession, are instructed, so that in the course of a few years, they will have officers enough to supply all South America. The military seems to engross, for the present, the attention of the aspiring youth of the country; the study of theology is almost entirely neglected; that of the law has increased, and a much greater number than formerly apply themselves to commerce. It is the opinion of every enlightened man, that in the course of another generation, the monastries will be entirely deserted.

All admit that there is an astonishing difference in the boys of the present generation, from those that have gone before them. One day while listening to four or five hundred, who were singing their national songs in the public square, a gentleman observed to me; "Sir, *these* are the *independents* of South America—we are good for nothing." They are thus at an early age, taught to consider themselves the hope

of their country; and they know that in a few years, they will be the men who will fix its destinies. Every thing concurs to impress this idea on their minds. Their education is the special care of the state; in the presence of its highest authorities, they are already called upon to act a part; and in celebrating the praises of the nation, its independence, and its achivements, they have acquired an importance before unfelt. The words *liberty* and *country* are connected with all that is dear to the heart. A gentleman related to me an anecdote, which shows how powerfully these feelings have seized upon their youthful affections. Passing along the street, he observed a crowd of boys round two of their companions who were fighting: "How is this," said he, "are you not ashamed to fight with each other? If you must fight, has the country no enemies?" This simple appeal had an electric effect—the boys embraced, and joined with their companions in shouts of *viva la patria!* Such sentiments impressed on the honest and generous minds of infancy, must naturally constitute the darling illusions of the future man. These boys already engage in the political discussions of the day, and are much more free and bold in their opinions than their parents or teachers. Even in private life, there is no longer that arbitrary and despotic authority exercised over them, which in a monarchy seems to partake of the very nature of the government.

Upon the mass of society, it is natural to suppose that the long protracted contest must have been productive of great effects; the variety of interesting occurrences which have passed before their eyes, since the invasion of the British, down to the present day, have changed the face of society. They are no longer the insipid automatons of despotism, but anxious about events

to which they never before elevated their minds, and are continually inquiring for news. Man needs this excitement to call forth his latent virtues, and to bring his faculties into employment. They have followed the good and bad fortune of their country, until their affections are completely enlisted. The history of the varied scenes of the last ten years furnishes even the commonest peasant with inexhaustible subjects of thought and conversation. The news of a battle, a victory, or defeat, is felt as if it individually benefitted or injured them. I might almost venture to say, that from the moment they expelled the British, they ceased to be fit for colonists—*a national spirit was formed.* The defence of Louisiana did more to Americanize the people of that state, than the diffusion of information for the preceding ten years. In a few years more, there will scarcely be a trace remaining of despotism. I have no hesitation in saying, that in point of national feeling, these people are already far advanced; and a progress more rapid has been made in this respect than even in Louisiana. That country for nearly ten years after its annexation, slumbered in a state of quiescence, while Buenos Ayres for the same period, was thrown upon its own energies, and was compelled to encounter every vicissitude of fortune. There are few who have not in some way or other, been actors in the scenes that transpired; all their talents have been called into requisition; the whole community has frequently experienced that wholesome agitation, which produces health and purity. They have been compelled to study the nature of government. They have been continually acquiring importance in their own opinion. Their national songs, and their printed papers every where distributed, have kept the public attention continually awake; and *the common stock of ideas,* has been pro-

digiously augmented. It is only necessary to clear the fountain, and the stream will soon run pure. This is an enlightened age—open the windows and the light will burst in. I may be mistaken as to the real policy of those in power, *but as to the progress which the people have made in the acquirement of information, I cannot be.*

CHAPTER IV.

The Principal Occurrences at Buenos Ayres since the commencement of their Revolution.

The revolution at Buenos Ayres, may be dated as far back as the first invasion by the British under Beresford, in June, 1806. The country was at that time almost in a state of abandonment on the part of Spain. She had a few wretched troops at Buenos Ayres and Monte Video; and an indifferent naval force, chiefly stationed at the latter of these places, which from the circumstances of being nearer the ocean, and having a better harbour, was the naval depot. While Napoleon was preying on the Spanish monarchy in Europe, the feeble and defenceless state of the Spanish American colonies, held out strong temptations to the avarice of England. Sobre Monte, at this time the viceroy of La Plata, seems to have been totally devoid of energy and talents; and when the British expedition, under Beresford and Sir Home Popham, appeared, the city of Buenos Ayres fell an easy conquest. The Spaniards had neither soldiers nor arms; the inhabitants far from being accustomed to rally round the standard of their country, in times of danger, had not even been permitted to think they had a country. From a people entirely excluded from any participation in national or political affairs, indifference and apathy were to be expected. An idle shew of resistance, it is true, was made by Sobre Monte, a few arms were distributed

to the militia;* but to use the words of Mr. Poinsett, "ignorant of their use, they ran out without order to look at the enemy, while General Beresford with two thousand men, marched into the city and took possession of the citadel without opposition. Don Juan Martin Pueyrredon, was the only officer at the head of a company of hussars, that harassed the enemy's march." The viceroy fled panic struck to Cordova, in the interior.

But the same people when left to themselves, soon discovered energies which astonished the invaders. They appeared to awaken as from a dream, or rather to be aroused into life, from a state of lethargy or stupor. Inflamed with indignation at the imbecile conduct of the ruler, whom chance, favouritism, or bribery, had placed over them, and chagrined at seeing their native soil in the possession of foreigners, they soon began to meditate upon the means of effecting their expulsion. Liniers, a captain in the navy, and a Frenchman by birth, not being included in the capitulation, was at liberty to take immediate steps with a view to this object. He entered into a secret correspondence with several members of the cabildo of Buenos Ayres, the most conspicuous of whom were Alzaga, an European Spaniard, and the present director, Pueyrredon. He at the same time, applied for assistance to the governor of Monte Video, who could spare him only the marines and seamen at that place. With these, and such volunteers as could be collected at Colonia, he suddenly crossed the river, and in the vicinity of the capital, was joined by the force collected

* I was told by a respectable officer, that they had not more than three hundred good stand of arms in the city.

and embodied by Pueyrredon, consisting of the neighbouring peasants and such of the citizens as had escaped from the city. The British were attacked, and after an obstinate resistance, compelled to surrender at discretion.

This was the first immediate impulse given to the revolution, by an event apparently no way connected with it. The urgent necessity of their situation, cast upon them the duty of self-defence, and this disclosed to them the secret of their capacity and strength. That the revolutionary movement would stop here, was not in the nature of things. It is besides well known that there was no inconsiderable state of preparation among the better informed classes of society, arising from their contemplation of the revolutions of the United States, and of France. Liniers was acknowledged their deliverer, and the people, now abandoned to themselves, by the desertion of Sobre Monte, and being thus self-rescued, conceived they had a right to make choice of their ruler. A general meeting of the citizens was called, and it was resolved to invest Liniers with the power and dignity of viceroy. Although no other change was effected in any department of the government, this cannot but be regarded as the first step towards their emancipation.

This single but important exercise of power, was the principle from which a multitude of important reasonings were deduced. It was in its nature and manner, an act of the people, inasmuch as there were no orders of nobility, or ancient families claiming hereditary influence. The audiencia, which, according to the Spanish American constitution, is the counterpoise to the power of the viceroy, was on this occasion passive; the lead was taken by the principal citizens, and by the municipality, with some interference on the part of the higher

clergy, who from the first settlement of the colonies, had been in the habit of intermingling their voice in all important secular concerns.*

It now became incumbent on Liniers, to place the country thus intrusted to his care, in a condition to resist a future attack, of which there was every probability. The citizens were formed into volunteer corps, much on the same principle of those which were seen in the United States during the war with Great Britain. From the strong resemblance between them, and at the same time, the democratic character on this occasion exhibited by Buenos Ayres, I am tempted to make the following extract from the work of Dean Funes. Speaking of this military organization of the inhabitants, he observes, "in these times, all those prerogatives which arise from a diversity of professions and fortunes, at once disappeared; since the love of country had placed all upon a level, or had left no other distinction but that of merit. It was a spectacle worthy of the contemplation of philosophy, to see men of the greatest wealth common soldiers in the ranks, under the command of a poor labourer, and the brave negro by the side of his master, who in numerous instances, rewarded his courage with liberty. Wealth, when placed in competition with capacity, left the possessor only the privilege of employing it for the benefit of the common cause, in purchasing uniforms for the soldiers, and in supplying their necessities. This disinterestedness, was only equalled by their assiduity in acquiring the elements of the military art. The most experienced in the science of war, would

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* This was perhaps a remnant of the trois etats; the three estates, of which the clergy was one. In France, Spain, and Portugal, whenever the *nation* are supposed to speak and act, it is through the medium of the three estates.

scarcely believe the progress made in the course of a few months, by several thousand individuals, who before were only accustomed to the peaceful occupations of commerce, to manual labour, or to the mechanic arts."

Several of the corps thus formed consisted of Europeans, and were designated by the provinces of Spain, of which they were natives, as Catalonians, Andalusians, Biscayans, &c. Among these, by far the greater number were of course entirely inimical to the design, soon after cherished by the leading Americans, of a separation from Spain; and here, as in other parts of Spanish America, they have continued to be one of the most serious obstacles to its success.*

Sobre Monte, on his return from Cordova, attempted in vain to resume his authority; but finding it impracticable, he descended to Monte Video, and although he had fallen into general contempt, he succeeded in raising a party amongst the European Spaniards at this place, who could not but view with uneasiness, any assumption of power on the part of the Americans. This is no doubt, the beginning of that hostility which afterwards broke out between Monte Video and the capital.

The year after the surrender of Beresford, the formidable invasion under General Whitlock took place. He attacked the city of Buenos Ayres, with an army of twelve thousand men; but was encountered on this occasion, by a people accustomed to the use of arms, and who felt a confidence in their ability to defend themselves. His signal defeat is well known. This second victory won by the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, would lose nothing by comparison with that of New Orleans,

* The number of Spaniards at Buenos Ayres, was supposed to be about three thousand in the breaking out of the revolution.

and its effect upon the people themselves, must necessarily have been great. But they were still so far from entertaining publicly, any ideas of complete independence, that an attempt made by Beresford previous to this last affair, to induce some of the citizens to form a plan for throwing off the Spanish allegiance, drew upon him general indignation, and occasioned the punishment of those who lent an ear to his seductions.

Liniers became the popular idol, and appears to have conducted himself with prudence and moderation, but at the same time, with the most inflexible fidelity to the king and country of Spain.* For it is to be observed, that the distinction was made at an early period of those difficulties, in which Spain and her colonies were soon after involved, between allegiance to the king, to which the latter, according to the laws of the Indies, believed themselves bound, *and allegiance to the country of Spain itself,* which was claimed by her juntas, and other provisional governments. The troubles of the Spanish monarchy came on, England became its ally and defender, and Napoleon alone was held up as the object of fear and hatred, throughout the colonies. Two parties, however, soon sprung up in Buenos Ayres, as I believe was the case in all the other American cities. The more enlightened among the native Americans, some of whom had long secretly cherished the desire of independence, felt a wish to seize

* He has been much abused in the revolutionary writings, which charge him with being at one time inclined to favour the pretensions of the French, and at another, those of the Princess Charlotte. But these writings bear the stamp of party spirit, and are contradicted by a variety of circumstances, which satisfy me, that the misfortunes of Liniers, proceeded from his fidelity to the Spaniards.

this opportunity, in order to throw off the Spanish yoke for ever; but here they were directly at variance with their European brethren, whose influence must necessarily have been great, as well from their holding nearly all the public offices, and from their having the commerce of the country in their hands, as from their numbers, experience, and intelligence. As to the mass of the population, the idea was yet too new and too bold. With this class of people, ancient habits and prejudices are not at once to be exchanged, even for things which are the most agreeable to the human heart. For the truth of this assertion, I need only appeal to the effect produced by the writings of Paine, on our own country; and it cannot be forgotten, that when the celebrated orator of Virginia, as if inspired, ventured to *hint* at independence, he at first astonished and shocked even those who became afterwards the most distinguished patriots.* In this situation of the public mind, Liniers, who was obliged to temporise, incurred the suspicion of both parties. The circumstance of his being a Frenchman by birth, gave occasion to those who feared his popularity, or envied his success, to sow distrust of him.

The arrival of General Elio at Monte Video, was followed by the first symptoms of disaffection to his authority. The European Spaniards, who form a much greater proportion of the population there, than at Buenos Ayres, uniting with the officers of the army and navy, got up a junta, acknowledging dependence on those of Spain. But a more serious attempt was made in the capital itself, by persons of the same description, to remove Liniers from the station of viceroy; they succeeded so far,

* I refer the reader to the life of Patrick Henry, by Mr. Wirt; a work familiar to every American of literary taste.

as to place him under the necessity of resigning; but this was no sooner made known, than the patricios, or native civic militia, took up arms in his support, and again restored him to authority, while a number of the European Spaniards, concerned in this and the former transactions, were banished to Patagonia.* Here we behold the commencement of those vibrations, which every free state must experience without a well regulated established government. From this time, it could no longer be said by them, *sterilis transmissimus annos;* the new born republic night use the line of Statius,

Hæc ævi mihi prima dies, hæc limina vitæ.

The state vessel thus launched upon the ocean, was henceforth to be exposed to all the vicissitudes and perils of the element.

The neighbouring court of Brazil was at the same time desirous, in case of a general wreck of the Spanish monarchy, to make sure of these vast and important territories; it is therefore to be presumed, that nothing was left undone towards effecting this object. A complimentary letter, in the name of the Princess of Carlotta, was at first sent to Liniers, and replied to by him, in a respectful manner. A formal proposition followed next, on the part of the princess and the infant Don Pedro, to take under their guardianship these unhappy countries, now in a state of orphanage by the imprisonment of her brother Ferdinand. Whatever might be the private sentiments and wishes of Liniers, it is very evident that public opinion would not have permitted him to have acceded to a proposal, which would have been disapproved of

* I speak from the manifestoes and documents, published at the time, and not from the distorted accounts of individuals, actuated by party spirit and passion.

even by the European Spaniards; and it is equally evident, that at this time, his authority had scarcely any other foundation, than that of his popularity. The proposition was therefore rejected with some show of indignation. He was, however, successful in preventing the formation of a junta in Buenos Ayres, which no doubt would have been immediately attended with serious consequences; in this he completely seconded the policy of the provisional governments of Spain, which was only to permit the formation of juntas in those American cities, where the preponderance of Europeans insured their fidelity.

The junta central, which assumed the government at this period, determined to send a viceroy to Buenos Ayres, accompanied with some troops, which could be ill spared from the Peninsula. The removal of Liniers at such a juncture, is universally admitted to have been an act of great imprudence; his popularity and talents peculiarly qualified him for the task of retarding the progress of the revolution. Cisneros, the new viceroy, was received and acknowledged by Liniers without hesitation.

It was about this period, that Pueyrredom, who had been sent to Spain, as the agent of the viceroyalty, at the same time that Liniers was appointed viceroy, having returned to his native country, was arrested on the charge of entertaining revolutionary designs, but through the aid of some officers of the patricios, or native troops, escaped from confinement, and sailed in an English vessel for Rio Janeiro. He was supposed to be one of the principal leaders of the party among the Americans, desirous of an entire separation from Spain; a party, which at this time, had not yet tried its strength. Liniers and some other officers of distinction, were dismissed with titles and pensions, while the meritorious

Americans, in the late contest with Great Britain, were entirely neglected, greatly to their disgust; a circumstance, of which those who were aiming at independence, did not fail to take advantage. The junta of Monte Video, on the arrival of Cisneros, was dissolved, having been formed for the mere purpose of keeping down the Americans; and the power of the viceroy was now thought to be fixed on its ancient basis, to the great joy of the Europeans, especially of the audiencia, and persons in the different offices of the government. But here they were greatly deceived; for setting aside the want of talents in the new viceroy, the people whom he was about to govern, were no longer the same. The mist which had before enveloped them, was beginning to be dispersed; they had felt their strength and consequence, and had begun to lose their habitual veneration for the Spanish monarchy. A deadly hostility had already declared itself between the Americans and Spaniards; a hostility whose foundation had long before been laid, in a variety of the most powerful causes. Even under the government of Liniers, the members of the audiencia had been grossly insulted by the people, and the veneration, with which these high officers were formerly regarded, had entirely ceased. From the very nature of their employments, as well as from their birth and opinions, they were known to be attached, under all events, to the European sovereignty. Cisneros was received with some outward show of respect by the people, but it was not difficult to foresee, that his government would be a series of troubles, in a democracy rapidly gathering its restless energies, and struggling to break loose from its restraints.

A more free intercourse with foreigners had begun to subsist under the administration of Liniers. A vast quantity of English manufactures had been smuggled into the

country, and from the friendly footing of the English and Spanish nations, the individuals of the former were received with peculiar favour. It is natural, therefore, that the subject of trade and commerce should be seized upon by those secretly planning the revolution, in order to give direction to the public feeling. The inhabitants of the city and vicinity convened for the purpose of considering these important matters. The result was an elaborate memorial addressed to the viceroy, by the merchants and landholders, praying for an entire freedom of commerce with all the world. This paper was drawn up with considerable ability, by an eminent lawyer, of the name of Moreno, who afterwards became one of the most conspicuous leaders of the revolution. An attempt like this, under the kingly constituted viceroys, ten years before, would have subjected its authors to certain ruin and destruction. But the times had changed, and Cisneros was compelled to yield. The door was thrown open to commerce with all nations; while this concession, far from satisfying the people, only gave rise to new demands, and increased the prevailing uneasiness. We find Cisneros, early in May, 1810, issuing a most humble manifesto, "to the loyal and generous people of his viceroyalty;" he begins, by laying before them the then hapless situation of Spain, in order to excite their compassion, and frankly acknowledges, that the island of Leon had become the last refuge of the Spanish monarchy in Europe. He then exhorts them, by all those topics of ancient veneration and attachment to their beloved monarchs, their affections to their mother country, and their regard for their holy religion, to yield a blind obedience to his mandates! He enjoins upon them the observance of order, and warns them, to shun, as they would vipers, those unquiet and malignant spirits, engaged in sewing jealousies and distrusts, as well among

the respectable citizens, as against the government; and finally warns them of the precipice they are about to approach.

Such a disclosure of his weakness, as is natural to suppose, had directly a contrary effect to that intended. It was seized upon by the promoters of the revolution, and in the course of a few days, the popular ferment became so great, that nothing was left for him but to yield. The universal cry was for the formation of a junta, into whose hands the people might safely confide the government. The cabildo, or municipality, taking the lead on this occasion, sent an intimation to the viceroy, on 20th May, 1810, that it had become indispensable that he should resign his office, *since the power whence he derived it, appeared no longer to exist.* The civic corps assembled in arms, and Cisneros finding his party too weak for resistance, made known his intention to comply, and accordingly resigned his authority to the cabildo. This body, on the evening of the twenty-first, gave notice through the town criers, for the curates, prelates, alcaldes of sections, the bishop, the oidores in their individual capacities, and the citizens in general, to assemble at the town-house the evening following.* The meeting took place, and discussions on this all-important occasion, continued till one o'clock in the morning. The result of their deliberations was published the next day, by bando, (a printed proclamation,) signed by the members of the cabildo. The cabildo was declared to be invested by the general congress, which

* This is what they call a *congress*, in reality an assemblage of the *trois etats.* The name of congress is at present applied to the deliberative body or assembly, formed since the declaration of independence.

name was given to this meeting, with supreme power for the present, and until the formation of a *junta gubernativa;* to be dependent, nevertheless, on that which should legitimately govern in the name of Ferdinand VII.; it being also understood, that the cabildo would immediately proceed to the erection of a junta, that would exercise authority until a general meeting of the deputies from the provinces could take place, for the purpose of establishing such form of government, as might be thought most proper to be adopted.*

On the twenty-fourth it was announced by bando, that the following persons were elected to compose the junta, to wit: the viceroy Cisneros, Dr. Soler, Dr. Casteli, Colonel Saavedra, and Inchauraqua, to be conjointly styled their excellency. This selection was no sooner made known, than general murmurs and discontents broke forth. The civic officers, who *in virtue of their military characters,*† took the lead in these popular commotions, presented themselves to the cabildo, who annulled their former election, and proceeded to appoint persons more agreeable to their wishes. These were the chief of the patricios, (native corps,) Colonel Saavedra as president, and Dr. Casteli, Manuel Belgrano, Manuel Alberti, curate of the parish of St. Nicholas, Miguel de Ascuenega, colonel of militia, Domingo Matteo, a Catalonian merchant, and Juan Larrea, also an European Spaniard from the same province. Two persons were selected

* The neglect or tardiness in the first junta, to carry this promise into effect, is one of the causes of dissatisfaction afterwards expressed by the provinces.

† It is to be recollected, that the revolution was effected by the citizens, *with arms in their hands.*

as secretaries, Dr. Juan Jose Passo, and Mariano Moreno. The next day, the 25th, which has ever since been observed as the anniversary of their political regeneration, a manifesto announced these proceedings of the cabildo, and which seemed to give universal satisfaction. On the members of the cabildo presenting themselves in the gallery of the town-house, before the assembled multitude in the public square, and the act being read, it was approved by general acclamation. In the manifesto just mentioned, several reforms were declared, though not of much importance. The tribunal of accounts, and the duty on tobacco were done away; the salary of the viceroy was to cease, and those of the oidores diminished; at the same time, liberty was given to the junta to make such further retrenchment, as they might judge proper; for such, says this paper, *is the manifest wish of the people.* These retrenchments, it states, are to be applied to the purpose of raising a regular force of five hundred men, to be marched, without delay, to the aid of the interior provinces.* After this, the manifesto specifies the powers and duties of the junta, in ten distinct articles, which may be considered *the first constitution adopted by the infant republic.*

During the six days taken up with these occurrences, one might expect, in a city of fifty or sixty thousand souls, (the greater part of whom would be of that class called the rabble under despotic governments, where pains are taken to keep the poor ignorant and degraded,) that there would be many disorders and disturbances; but it is a well attested fact, that no individual received the slightest injury in his

* For the purpose of revolutionizing the other provinces, and expelling the Spanish authorities.

person or property; there was not even that kind of assemblage called mobs, so readily excited in cities used to despotic government. In reading the following passage from a writer of the day, a solecism was suggested, which I was at a loss to explain. The writer, after speaking of the *deep interest* taken by the people in these events, goes on to say: "It is worthy of admiration, that during this period, not the slightest untoward circumstance took place, there was no disturbance of any account, the mechanics remained at work in their shops, *and the populace was for the greater part, even ignorant of what was going forward.*"* Such indifference, cannot but strike with surprise; but it is not so difficult to account for. It cannot be denied that the lowest class was sunk in ignorance and apathy, having never dared for centuries, to think of the conduct of their magistrates and chief men, or the internal concerns of their country; they pursued the even tenor of their drowsy way, without even imagining that the details of the government in the least concerned them. It could only be when some foreign enemy threatened them with invasion, or when acted upon by some of the few stronger and more violent emotions that they could be roused from the benumbing effects of a despotic government. This class is composed of the labourers, domestics, and persons of this description, who, of course, form a very large proportion of the whole. The people, therefore, that is, those who took part in the late revolution, did not per-

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* Deve admirarse que durante este passage, no ha havido la menor disgracia, ni oido ruido de consideration; siguen los artistas en sus telares, y para conclusion, *Puede asegurarse que el populacho ignoran aun los mas quanto se trataba.*

haps, exceed at the outside, fifteen hundred or two thousand, consisting of the wealthy, the merchants, and shopkeepers, headed by the clergy and the lawyers. From that day, the number of those who take an interest in the conduct of persons in power, and who are attentive to the course of events, has been constantly increasing; but I know from my own experience, during a residence of some years, in what was once a Spanish colony, how slowly men learn to take a pleasure in participating in the cares and uneasiness of their government, in addition to those which are peculiar to themselves as individuals—they regard it as a burthen, rather than a privilege. There is another reason which is entitled to weight; the number of those in absolute want, or entirely profligate, (the combustible materials of mobs) are comparatively small in South America, as well as in the north. From these observations it will be seen, that it is a mistake in such as are unwilling to consider this a popular revolution, from the smallness of the proportion of those who took an active part in it; a circumstance which arose, not from any exclusive privilege or right in this portion, but from an acquiescence on the part of the remainder; for there was nothing more requisite to entitle them to a participation in public affairs, than inclination or capacity. As education advanced, and the habit of attending to these concerns increased, the whole population would sooner or later, come to feel and exercise a lively interest in all the details of the government.

The first act of the junta was to provide a regular force, which, until now, had been very inconsiderable. They use the following language in their decree, (bando) for this purpose; "Although for the

true glory of the country, it is necessary to recognize a soldier in every inhabitant, yet the public order, and the security of the state, require the establishment of a regular force, suitable to the dignity of these provinces." Some days after, follows another publication in the nature of a manifesto, in which, after setting forth the unremitted attention which they had bestowed to the duties entrusted to them by the people, they express their satisfaction at the general tranquillity which prevailed, and the approbation thus manifested of their conduct. After inveighing against the mischiefs that may be wrought by the inconsiderate, as well as the seditious, they declare themselves bound to give an exact account of all the measures they may think it necessary to adopt; the people, say they, have a right to be made acquainted with the conduct of their representatives; a newspaper is, therefore, to be published weekly, to be exclusively devoted to the explanation of political measures, and the insertion of state papers, and for the purpose of making known the state of the public revenues. Here is the commencement of a new era, among a people who had been habitually kept entirely unacquainted with every thing of this nature; an era contemptible, perhaps, in the eyes of the impatient visionary, who in the language of Burke, "rushes in where angels fear to enter," but not so in the estimation of the rational man.

The installation of the junta was followed by an attempt to prevail on the inhabitants of Monte Video to follow the example. Dr. Passo, one of the junta, was sent there with this view; a congress similar to that which had taken place at Buenos Ayres was called; but the native inhabitants, although actuated by the same feelings with their countrymen at Buenos Ayres

were prevented from coming to the same determination by the interference of the naval officers, and the influence of the European Spaniards. In the mean time, a vessel arrived with the news of the installation of the regency, and the false intelligence, that the tide of fortune on the Peninsula, had turned in favour of the Spaniards, who were represented as every where victorious. Passo was obliged to return without success.

In the month of June, the audiencia communicated the manifesto of the Spanish regency, and called upon the junta to recognise this new government. In the correspondence which ensued, the junta denied the document to be either officially authenticated or communicated, while it bore at the same time internal evidence of the desperate fortunes of the Peninsula.* It is a curious paper, and has been frequently referred to as acknowledging most of the essential objects for which they contended. The Spanish power in its last agonies had become just, and even somewhat generous.† Another

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* According to the laws of the Indies, it will be recollected, all official communication with the colonies must come through the council of the Indies, in which the king is supposed to be present. In the case of a total interruption of the royal authority, (the king being then a prisoner, and actually signing renunciations of his right to the crown,) the Spaniards could only set up a regency for Spain.

† It contains the following remarkable passage. "From this moment, Spanish Americans! you perceive yourselves elevated to the dignity of freemen; you are no longer what you were, while pressed down by a yoke the more intolerable by reason of your distance from the centre of power; regarded with indifference, vexed by cupidity, and destroyed by ignorance. Keep present to your minds, that in pronouncing or writing the name of him whom you are to send to the national congress, your destinies no longer are dependent on ministers, or viceroys, or governors; they are in your own hands." Such was the language of extraordinary concession to the oppressed colonies, by the regency of Spain in this desperate moment of her affairs.

congress was called at Buenos Ayres, and it was resolved not to acknowledge the regency; on the contrary, an oath was now administered to those who composed the congress, to support the new government. The oidores, deeply chagrined at what had occurred, could no longer restrain their expressions of displeasure within the bounds of prudence, and as there was no good will towards them on the part of the junta, an opportunity was seized of shipping them off to the Canaries, along with Cisneros the viceroy. Their judicial functions were afterwards supplied by a new tribunal, styled the Chamber of Appeals.

There was now, *de facto*, a complete separation from Spain. The oidores, it is true, had been compelled to own that they held their authority from the people, as the source from which they originally received it had ceased to flow; but they were not the *choice* of the people, or of those now in power. The ostensible motive still continued to be the preservation of these territories of their beloved sovereign Ferdinand, in the event of his being restored to the throne. Whether the adoption of such a fiction was required by circumstances, or was useless, is a question I shall not now attempt to discuss. It is worthy of being stated in this place, that the junta almost as soon as it commenced its duties, opened a correspondence with Lord Strangford, the British Minister at Rio Janeiro, bespeaking his good offices, and making known their wish to be on friendly terms with the neighbouring court. An English vessel which arrived in the month of July, brought a favourable answer to them from the minister, who declared his intention of treating the new government with the same respect and consideration, as if it had been actually acknowledged; applauding their zeal in the cause of Ferdinand, and advising them to entertain no other design, than that of preserving the

country for the sovereign, in case of his return to the throne.*

The next, and the most important step, was to obtain the concurrence of all the different towns and provinces of the viceroyalty. Buenos Ayres claimed this as the capital, from those districts which had previously been dependencies; at least of the audiencia of La Plata.† Governing in the name of Ferdinand, she professed to retain the viceroyalty entire, until the sense of the people of the viceroyalty could be taken, as to the modification or administration of the government. The towns and villages of the province of Buenos Ayres, with the exception of Monte Video, acknowledged the provisional Government; the other towns of the Banda Oriental, (Colonia, Maldonado, and Conception,) with the principal part of the population, did not follow the example of their capital, but recognised the junta. The districts of Mendoza, St. Louis, and San Juan, sent in their adhesion to Buenos Ayres, as the capital of the viceroyalty. The province of Cordova, then under the government of Concha, an European Spaniard, who had

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* The English minister could not have been ignorant of the real intentions of the revolutionists of Buenos Ayres. But to enable him to shew them countenance, it was necessary that they should profess to be loyal to the sovereign for whom the English were then contending. That Lord Strangford did side with the Buenos Ayreans, was so evident, that they offered him as a present, a valuable grant of land, which he declined accepting. The friendship of the English was a most important circumstance, as it prevented the Spanish naval force from completely putting a stop to the trade of Buenos Ayres, in which, by the by, *England was deeply interested.*

† The audiencia of Charcas, although subject to the orders of the viceroy, yet in many respects, exercised similar authority within its jurisdiction; it might therefore be regarded, in some measure, as a separate and distinct government.

been rewarded with this post for his conduct in the defence against the British, was at first restrained from entering into the confederacy by his influence, supported by the exertions of Liniers,* who had retired to this place, and those of the bishop Orillana. At a meeting convened for the purpose of taking the subject into consideration, Funes, the dean of Cordova, and historian of the country, was the only person who ventured to take the side of the junta; which he did in an eloquent discourse afterwards published. The wishes of the people in this quarter, were by no means in accordance with the determination of their chiefs, and when a military force soon after arrived under Ocampo, the chiefs were abandoned by the troops they had collected on the spur of the occasion. The bishop, Concha, and Liniers, were seized, and notwithstanding the intercessions of Funes and his brother, the two latter were put to death, in alleged retaliation for the murders committed in Peru; thus staining the cause of the revolution by blood. It was unfortunate that one of the first victims should have been a man, to whom the country was so much indebted; who, whatever might have been his ultimate intentions, certainly enabled the people to take the first step towards their emancipation. It has been said, that the leaders among the patriots of Buenos Ayres, feared his popularity, which was still great, and was apprehensive of his thwarting all their plans. That these leaders cherished at this time the idea of a total separation from Spain, I entertain no doubt; although it was thought necessary to

* Liniers when superseded by Cisneros, was dismissed with a title of nobility, and a pension. The Spaniards disgusted the only man who could have saved them, and who was faithful to their cause. Such is the effect of weak jealousy.

conceal it for the present.* There is said to have been in the junta a difference of opinion, as to the sanguinary measures just related; for this body was scarcely organized, when it was divided into two parties, that of Moreno, the secretary, a lawyer of talents and of Saavedra, the president of the junta. As in all other party disputes, and they are inseparable from all free governments, there were no doubt faults on both sides.

The die was now cast; there was no course left to the leaders of the revolution, but to advance; they were placed between victory and death; they had boldly asserted, that the dependence of the Indies, had temporarily ceased with the captivity of the king; that no separate or distinct jurisdiction or government of the monarchy, had a right to assume authority over another; but that each distinct and separate government had a right in this state of things, to take care of itself. This doctrine was, undoubtedly, as just as it was flattering to the wishes of the people, but it was also the cause of much dissention between the subordinate jurisdictions and the capital. Each district conceiving itself entitled to set up a government, not only independent of the viceroyalty, but even of the province to which it was attached; the same reasoning would have justified any individual in taking care of himself, and acting according to the dictates of his own mind. It was, in fact, not easy to draw the line; but the most rational seems to be this: each viceroyalty and captain-generalship constituted a

* Liniers has been spoken of in terms of disgusting abuse in the writings of the Buenos Ayrean patriots; even Funes seems to be afraid of doing him justice. That those who advised the sanguinary measure, should attempt to blacken his reputation, is not surprising; but I am not sufficiently acquainted with the private history of that period to say who the persons were.

government independent of the others, as well as of the provinces and kingdoms of Spain, but united in the person of the king, as their common head. On the cessation of the kingly power, their was not an universal dissolution of all government, for this would be anarchy, but only a separation of the different feudatories; and as to the domestic or internal governments, the change should be effected by the majority of the people, and not at the will of every petty district. The situation of the United States, when British colonies, was nearly similar, with this difference, that at Buenos Ayres from the necessity of the case, the revolution commenced in the capital, and no convention could be called, until the capital had by force expelled the Spanish authorities from the other districts. As soon, however, as circumstances would permit, a convention ought to have been called, and the revolution sanctioned by the majority of the people. It would, therefore, have become the duty of the other districts, to submit in the same manner that the different counties of Maryland would have been required to submit, during the revolutionary war.

A few months after the revolution at Buenos Ayres, Pueyrredon arrived from Rio Janeiro,* and was immediately appointed governor of Cordova, while Belgrano marched against Velasco, the Spanish governor of Paraguay, who still maintained the Spanish authority. Yedras, with the regular troops and militia, worsted Belgrano, in two successive engagements, probably having a great superiority of force. The general, however, opened a communication with some of the principal inhabitants, in consequence of which, they put down the Spanish

* His friends state, that he was instrumental in inducing Lord Strangford to pursue the course he did in favour of the revolutionists.

authorities, sending Velasco a prisoner to Buenos Ayres, and establishing a junta, but without acknowledging that of the capital.* With these steps Belgrano was satisfied and withdrew his forces. While Buenos Ayres was thus engaged in sending agents to the different towns and districts of the viceroyalty, for the purpose of enlisting them in the general cause, a confidential person was despatched to the neighbouring government (Chili) with the view to excite revolutionary movements in that quarter, for the same reasons that, during our revolutionary war, an attempt was made to produce a revolt in Canada. I have already noticed the events of the revolution in Peru. The corporations of the different cities, in the name of the people, acknowledged the junta of Buenos Ayres, and in the course of the year 1810, the whole viceroyalty, excepting the town of Monte Video, and the intendency of Paraguay, one in the possession of the Spaniards, the other pursuing independence in its own way, voluntarily agreed to substitute the junta, provisionally, for the royal authority, which had ceased. With the exception of the town of Monte Video, the whole of the viceroyalty had become, *de facto*, independent of Spain, professing an intention to return to their allegiance to Ferdinand, on his restoration to the throne, which few of the leaders expected, and certainly none desired. The viceroy of Lima strained every nerve to arrest the progress of this revolution; all the reinforcements that could possibly be spared, were sent to Goyneche; who partly through treachery, as well as by superiority of numbers, defeated Balcarce at Huaqui. The

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* In 1811, a treaty was entered into between Buenos Ayres and Paraguay, but shortly after that period, all communication ceased, for what cause, I know not.

incidents of the war which ensued between the cap tal, and the Spaniards of Monte Video, have been already detailed.

The junta of the capital now recommended the esta-blishment of subordinate juntas in all the principal provinces in addition to the other local authorities. Consequent upon these events, there was a change of all the different civil officers, their places being filled by adherents to the cause. It is highly probable, that in this distribution of the loaves and fishes, the citizens of the capital received much more than came to their share. The prospect of obtaining an office, has made many a patriot, and disappointments as readily unmade: here is at once a fruitful cause of disaffection. That Buenos Ayres did not abuse the advantages she possessed, is scarcely to be believed, because it would not be human nature. One of the strongest inducements held out to the provinces to acknowledge the junta, was the promise of convening a congress of deputies, so that every part of the viceroyalty might share in the government; a promise which there is every reason to believe, was not as faithfully complied with as it might have been. There may be reasons for and against, which I do not feel inclined to weigh. It is reasonable to suppose, that those who held the reins of power, would endeavour to monopolize all authority, for this is natural, and would give rise to serious evils; it is also to be taken for granted, that the subordinate districts would exaggerate, and often complain of fancied grievances. Jealousy of the town, on the part of the country, is not peculiar to Buenos Ayres; there is a striking instance of it in the state of Maryland.

In being thus prolix, in tracing the first steps of the revolution, a prolixity seemingly more suited to a his-

torical narrative, than to a work like the present, it was my intention, to enable the reader to form a more satisfactory opinion of the subsequent transactions, over which I intend rapidly to pass. It will, at the same time, enable him to form a distinct idea of the principles, on which the revolution was commenced and carried on.* From this period, the democracy of Buenos Ayres (as it has been styled by the editor of the Quarterly Review) displayed a degree of vigour and spirit, not unworthy of ancient Rome; and the history of their dissentions, their rivalries, and ambition, as is justly observed by Funes, may be read in Livy, in Plutarch, and in the history of all republics; for under similar circumstances, men are pretty much the same.† The viceroyalty, or province was cut adrift from its ancient moorings; sometimes the helm was entrusted to the hands of the veteran and experienced mariner; at other times it was seized by the ambitious aspirant, and anon the noisy, mischievous demagogue infused suspicion, alarm, or madness into the minds of the crew. "Happy the juncture when popular phrensy prevailing, there shall be found at the helm, an upright and wise man, with flexibility or firmness, according to the exigency of the moment, and who disregarding the false fears of the crew, has no view in running out to sea, or steering into port, but to save the vessel entrusted to his care; such a man may not have monuments of marble or brass, erected to his me-

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* It would require another volume, to complete what I have to say on South America. I have been compelled to leave a great part of my materials unemployed. It is possible that I may prepare them for some periodical work.

† It is worthy of remark, that the colonies of despotic governments, almost always grow up republics. The causes are not difficult to be explained.

mory, but he w..l live in the hearts of those, whom his firmness and virtues have saved."

It has been stated, that it was made the duty of the junta at the time of its erection, to call a general congress from the dif erent provinces, for the purpose of establishing the go ernment on a proper basis. This was the only course, by which the viceroyalty could b effectually prevente , from splitting into distinct sections, with jarring interests. To restore a chaos like this to order, it might have been foreseen, would have been a very difficult undertanding; at the same time, that the country might in the meanwhile, become an easy conquest. The junta despatched circular letters to the corporations, requesting them to send their deputies to Buenos Ayres. The form of elections, or the number of deputies, was not prescribed. The corporations of those cities which were not tranquil, Mendoza, Cordova, Tucuman, and in some of the provinces of Peru, proceeded to the election of their deputies. In gener l, not more than one person was sent for each city. On th arrival at Buenos Ayres, their organization was dela to their great disgust; this was in consequence of the dif erence between the Moreno and Saavedra factions. The former, who had the ascendency in the junta, from his sup rior talents for business, opposed the incorporation with this body; he contended that the intention had been to form a deliberative body, that the viceroyalty would be but imperfectly represented by the small number of deputies, who were then assembled, and that their incorporation with the junta would render it too numerous to act as an executive, which was the object of its institution.

There was from the beginning, apparently no settled plan, but their measures were taken pretty much at random, from the deficiency of experience the science of government. The Saavedra party havin th more po-

p[illegible]lar side of the question, whether the more rational I shall not say, succeeded in obtaining the incorporation, in the beginning of 1811, of the deputies with the junta. Thus incorporated, their number amounted to fifteen, Saavedra still continuing president. It now assumed the title of JUNTA SUPREMA, and by an ordinance of the tenth of February, proceeded to establish something like a general plan for the government of the viceroyalty. This document is headed by some general remarks, which evince that the spirit of liberty had already made considerable progress, while at the same time their proceedings were marked by extreme caution and timidity. "The same reasons," say they, "which required the establishment of a collective authority, instead of the single one of the viceroy, also dictates the introduction of a new form in the subordinate governments. The well grounded apprehension of endangering these first steps, which were to decide our fate, in the narrow path we had to tread, when this junta did not possess the entire con[illegible]nce of the provinces, constrained it to refrain from ma[illegible]g any alterations in the former system, by placing the government at once in hands, whose fidelity was beyond suspicion. Moreover, the junta has always been convinced, that the best fruits of this revolution ought to consist in enabling the people to taste the benefits of a popular government. It is for this reason, that, although trusting to the influence of general causes, it was, notwithstanding, enjoined in the private instructions to the military commission, that the establishment of juntas should be every where promoted. They thought that unless this course were pursued, the people would still continue to be wretched; in fact, the authority, which is not restrained by the watchfulness of other authorites, seldom fail to corrupt the best intentions. The magistrate who has been guilty of

usurpation, is obliged to render himself absolute, in order to insure impunity. From the violation of the law to despotism, there is but a single step; and thenceforth the subject slaves have neither country nor zeal for the public good, while the state, dispirited, offers an easy prey to every enemy. But the contrary must necessarily happen, when the government is deposited in many hands. From the continual flux and reflux of authority, habits will be formed by the people, which will temper the harshness incident to power, and the humiliation of obedience. Such a government will bring forward able magistrates, yet servants of the laws; free citizens, who yet know that there is no liberty for him who does not obey the laws: such a government will foster all the civic and political virtues, the love of glory and of country, and, in a word, it will form men who will sacrifice their interests and selfish feelings to the good of the state. In order that this great work may be accomplished, it is important that these juntas should be chosen by the people, so that those who may be elected, shall have the popular opinion in their favour, and merit alone may elevate to office, and the possession of the necessary talents to qualify for command, shall be their fairest title."

I make the foregoing extract, to shew how much more easy it is to *reason* wisely on the subject of government, than it is to act wisely. These observations, so full of good sense, might possibly be followed up by very silly measures. The sentiments are also somewhat singular, when it is recollected, that it was not until after this time, that the intention was openly manifested, of separating from Spain. The avowed object at present, was merely to prepare the people for self-government, in case the necessity should be thrown upon them. It should be remembered, that the progress of our revolu-

tion was in the same manner fortuitous, during its first stages, and it was not until sixteen years after the commencement of the contest, that we sat down to build up our national fabric, in pursuance of a regular and systematic plan. The JUNTA SUPREMA, after this preamble, proceeds in a constitution consisting of twenty-four articles, and improving a little on the meagre set of rules adopted by the junta, to establish the provincial and subordinate juntas; the first, for the capitals or chief towns, the others, for smaller communities. It provides for the mode of election by electoral colleges, and limits the power of the juntas; which are in fact, little more than committees of safety, as they are forbidden to interfere in the administration of justice, or in any manner with the functions of the civil magistrates, or corporations already established; none of whom, or any clergymen, were to be members of the juntas, or to take part in them. They were, moreover, to be composed of citizens in no way connected with any branch of the government. It was also provided, that those cities or provinces which have deputies in the JUNTA SUPREMA, shall notwithstanding, have their provincial juntas. This regulation was declared to be only provisional or temporary, until a general congress could be assembled; from which it appears, that the junta considered itself as assuming the supreme authority only from the necessity of the case; it could not be regarded as a convention, its members not being elected by the people; but merely deputed by the several cabildos or corporations.

It is not to be supposed, that party animosity and faction, were now lulled to sleep; on the contrary, their fierceness seemed to increase at every step towards liberty. The secretary, Moreno, was left out in the new organization, but was deputed as a public agent to England; he embarked on his mission, but died in the

course of his passage. His party was, however, not extinct; nothing was left undone to bring the party in power into disrepute, and chiefly by accusations of Portuguese influence. Towards the Portuguese there prevails a hereditary dislike, over and above the fears entertained of their ambitious designs and formidable neighbourhood. The impracticability of betraying the country, is a presumption that no such design could exist in the minds of those in power; but the accusation was sufficient to influence the mind of those who were enlisted on the side of the opposition, when mingled with other and well grounded causes of complaint; that a government constituted like this, should be without faults, would be a phenomenon. A club had been formed at Buenos Ayres, somewhat on the principles of the Jacobin clubs at Paris, and which aspired in like manner to control the operations of government. Saavedra now resolved to have recourse to the same military force with which he had deposed the viceroy, for the purpose of putting down those of his fellow-citizens who were endeavouring to have him removed. On the 6th of April, 1811, three civic regiments devoted to his interests, were drawn up in the public square, and a petition was presented to the corporation, by several hundred of the country people, demanding the banishment of the obnoxious members of the junta. Awed by the military, the request was complied with; the club was broken up, a number of citizens thrown into prison, and others banished.* Here was the commencement of those banish-

* These proscriptions extended no further. The banished were sometime afterwards permitted to return. One cause of the instability of the government, was the continual plotting of their friends, to place the government in different hands, so that the banished persons might return. *As far as I can ascertain, none of the parties that*

me[illegible] and proscriptions, which afterwards almost [illegible]variably marked violent changes in the administration of the government; but which, considering the fury of the passions in these intestine feuds, were as mild as could be expected. These proceedings, however, disgusted the more sober and rational, and even those who were dissatisfied with the conduct of the club, were still more displeased with that of Saavedra. Of the merits of the affairs, I cannot pretend to judge; certain it is, that the occurrence was followed by violent and dangerous dissentions throughout the republic, and especially among the military leaders in Peru, who partook in the disputes w[illegible] distracted the capital.* All those jealousies, rivalries, and ambitious pretensions, were to be expected in a state of society, where the settled order had been broken up, and time had not been allowed for every one to find his proper place. Its elements contended with each other, like those of nature in a state of chaos;

> [F]rigida pugnabant calidis, humentia siccis,
> Mollia cum duris, sine pondere habentia pondus.

I[illegible]ve seen something like it in our new territories, wh[illegible] a great number of persons are suddenly thrown together from different quarters of the union. The first years are past in this kind of struggle or fermentation, absolutely necessary to enable each one to find his proper station in society. The remark that every captain or major at Buenos Ayres, aspired to be com-

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have sprung [illegible] at Buenos Ayres, is entirely innocent of the charge of banishing its p[illegible]tical enemies.

* It is sai[illegible] th[illegible] party spirit had acquired such virulence, that those [illegible] [illegible]er we[illegible] rejoiced at the defeat of Balcarce at Huaqui, and on[illegible] saw in it the [d]estruction of formidable rivals.

mander-in-chief, or supreme director, only proves that the settled order of society had been broken up by a political convulsion; but in the course of time, order would be brought out of confusion, by the tendency of every thing to an equilibrium, in the moral as well as in the natural world.*

After the change in the members of the junta, effected in the violent manner just mentioned, and the banishment of Larrea, Pena, Posadas,† and others, there prevailed for some time a deceitful tranquillity. The friends of those who had been banished, only waited a proper opportunity to declare themselves. The junta on the 24th of August, published a long and well written manifesto, professing to give a full view of their situation, and reiterating all those popular sentiments already noticed, and others of a similar cast. The views of the court of Brazil are exposed and the eventual right of the princess Charlotta spoken of in terms of indignation. The paper makes a display of their strength and means, and breathes the language of defiance. There was at this time a

* I have spoken of the democratic character of the population of Buenos Ayres; the following extract from Azara, on the subject of the equality prevailing among them, is intended by him for the reverse of flattery. "The Spaniards of all these countries, (Spanish Americans) think themselves above the Indians, negroes, and people of colour, *but among themselves there reigns the most perfect equality without distinction of nobles and plebians.* Neither fiefs, substitutions, or mayorasgo, are known among them. The only distinction which exists is purely personal, and only arises from the exercise of public functions, the possession of riches, or the reputation of talents and probity."—Azara, vol. ii. p. 277.

† Larrea and Posados were afterwards employed by the government.

formidable expedition said to be fitting out from Spain, and while apprehensions were entertained, it served to suspend their internal feuds; similar apprehensions were productive of the same effects, when South America was threatened with the expedition of Morillo. Two of the members, Saavedra and Molina, were deputed to the different cities of Peru, in order to confer with their cabildos on the best means of providing for the common defence, and of terminating the prevailing discords. The enemies of Saavedra took advantage of his absence to get rid of him; he was not only excluded from the government, but was compelled to undergo several years of banishment.*

On the 23d of September, a meeting was convened in the same disorderly manner, in which others had been called, for the purpose of new modelling the government. By the enemies of the junta, it was insisted, that a body composed of so many persons separated into parties, and dividing the community into as many factions as there was private interests in the junta, was not suited to the prompt and energetic measures which the then critical state of their affairs required. It was therefore resolved, to establish a *triple executive.* The persons selected for this purpose were Sarratea, Chicklana, and Passo, with Rivadavia and Perez, as secretaries. A kind of constitution was published in November, called the *estatuto,*

* I visited him frequently while at Buenos Ayres. He was said to be in narrow circumstances, and lived a good deal retired. His political conduct was then undergoing an investigation, for the purpose of restoring him, if possible, to public confidence. He has since been declared *ciudadano bene merito,* and is once more in employment.

or statute; the original of those afterwards adopted. It is the first which recognizes specifically, any of the rights of the citizen, and is also important as being the first to declare the liberty of the press, but which amounted to little more than abolishing the previous license. The sphere of general knowledge, was, notwithstanding, already much enlarged—the protection of the press was of course a popular measure. A junta, to whose special care the liberty of the press was intrusted, was to be annually appointed; a poor security when unsupported by the force of public opinion, for, in all probability, this junta itself would in a little time, become a mere instrument of the government. What after all are forms of government, or political institutions, unless supported by the education, habits, and virtues of a people? Without these the most perfect forms that were ever conceived will be inefficient; *anarchy and despotism will merely change hands, and hold an alternate sway.*

In order to guard against the evils to be apprehended from the permanency of the triple executive, or triumvirate, it was provided that one of the number should vacate his seat every six months, and his successor to be elected by a meeting of the deputies from the municipalities of each province. The JUNTA SUPREMA figured on the stage no more; its members were scattered among the rest of the citizens—perhaps as so many firebrands to light up new discords. The triumvirate announced in the new *estatuto*, the intention to call a representation of the people, for the purpose of forming a deliberative body, from the want of which, the principal part of the evils they had suffered had taken their origin. They published the *reglamento* of the 19th of February 1812, establishing

the provisional assembly *of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata.** The reglamento consisted of twenty articles, and provided that the provisional assembly should be composed of the members of the corporation, or cabildo of the capital, of the deputies or persons empowered (apoderados) by the different cities of the United Provinces, and one hundred citizens, to be elected in the manner therein prescribed. The cabildo of the capital, was to preside in this singularly composed deliberative body. The citizens were to be chosen from those of the capital, or such of the citizens of the provinces as might happen to be there, even for transitory purposes. The mode is in some respects whimsical, and little conformable to the practice of nations accustomed to elections. The whole may be regarded as one of the rudest essays at representative government; some of its features were borrowed from ancient Spanish institutions. It may be asked, why not adopt at once the system tried and experienced in the United States? The reason why cannot be well understood by those who have seen it only in operation in this country, and have had no opportunities of observing the difficulty of introducing it into a country, whose habits and laws are entirely different. If we should make a present of our constitutions to the South Americans, it would be necessary to send along with them, a sufficient number of our countrymen, to put them into operation, and to teach their use. No—they may adopt and ingraft many of their best features, they may establish free governments, but not such as ours; although by degrees they

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* This is the first occasion in which I meet with the designation of United Provinces.

may be able to introduce the leading features of our system. This must be the work of time.

One provision in the fourth article is worthy of notice, as it exhibits the first endeavour to guard against military influence on the deliberations of the assembly. It appears also by this, that the regular soldiery of the republic, was becoming more distinct from the rest of society than at first. The words are, "In order to avoid the dangerous effects of the improper influence of the executive, (del gobierno) in the deliberations of the assembly, and consulting the practice of all free people in the civilized world, it is declared that the officers of the army, and those employed in the different branches of the public administration, or immediately dependent on the executive, are forbidden from interfering in any manner with the assembly." This body, when convened, was to take an oath to support the liberty and property of the United Provinces, and to notify the executive of their being ready to receive communications; and was also to send a statement of the particular business which may have occasioned their convocation. Their first act, when convened, was to go into the election of the triumvir, who was to fill the place of him whose term should have expired. It was also provided, that the right of convening the assembly should be in the executive or triumvirate alone, and this to be done at least once every six months. The assembly not to be a permanent body, and not to act on any other matters than those for which they were convened, nor to remain in session longer than eight days, but to be sooner prorogued at the pleasure of the executive. In some cases, the executive might assist at their deliberations, provided they were not of a na-

ture to interfere with the freedom of debate. I have given a few of the leading features of this singular constitution, originating in great anxiety to restrain the encroachment of power on the liberties of the people, but unable to fall upon the best method of accomplishing this desirable object. At the end of the six months, the ASSEMBLY was considered as entirely dissolved, and a new election had to be gone into.

I have said nothing of the incidents of the war in Peru, and with the Spaniards at Monte Video, both of which had their influence on the local feuds of Buenos Ayres. The defeats in Peru, and the bad success of the war in the Banda Oriental, must have contributed not a little to the instability of the governments hitherto etablished, as well as fomented party spirit. The calling in of the Portuguese by Elio, the Spanish governor, at Monte Video, on finding himself closely pressed by Rondeau and Artigas, had also its effect on the councils of Buenos Ayres. The ASSEMBLY, at its first meeting in April 1812, elected Pueyrredon as one of the members of the triumvirate; his conduct in Peru having rendered him at this time extremely popular. This body, however, did not stop here, but proceeded to declare itself rightfully invested with supreme authority. A struggle of course ensued, and ought to have been foreseen; the popular opinion was on the side of the executive, which proceeded at once to dissolve the ASSEMBLY; it was accordingly done without resistance. During the administration of Pueyrredon, the siege of Monte Video was renewed, and through the mediation of Lord Strangford, an armistice was concluded, in the month of June, between the Portuguese and Buenos Ayres; in consequence of which the former withdrew their army from Banda

Oriental, and a reciprocal guarantee was agreed upon, with respect to each other's territories.* This is the third time we find the British interfering in behalf of Buenos Ayres; the first when a blockade was attempted by Elio, afterwards by mediation between her and the junta of Cadiz,† and finally in the present treaty negociated with Brazil through their interference.

On the sixth of October another assembly was convened, which elected Medrano as one of the members of the executive, and then proceeded to pursue the same conduct, as had occasioned the dissolution of the first. The same consequences were produced, but after a more violent struggle. In the manifestoes issued on the occasion, the municipality, the people, and the troops, were said to be disgusted with their conduct. A revolution followed closely on the heels of these violent disputes between the executive and the assembly, but on this occasion originating with the military and civic corps. On the eighth, the regulars, headed by their officers, marched from the barracks, and declared against the triumvirate. A memorial was then presented by the principal inhabitants of the municipality, calling for a congress (or cabildo abierto) of the citizens; the military declaring that from a knowledge of the unpopularity of the measures pursued by the triumvirate, and the suppo-

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* The treaty was effected by Colonel Rademaker, deputed to Buenos Ayres on the part of the court of Brazil. This is insisted on in the correspondence between Pueyrredon and Lecor, on the *second* invasion by the Portuguese.

† It was acceded to by Buenos Ayres, provided it should be on the basis of a perfect equality between them, that is, *an acknowledgement of their independence*, which the Spaniards did not choose to do.

sition that the people might be restrained from acting, by apprehensions, that they would support the executive, they were determined to remove all restraint on the freedom of their actions.* A singular spectacle is thus exhibited in the standing army being the instrument of faction, instead of the instrument of power. It probably tends to prove, that the distinction between the citizen and the soldier, was not yet strongly marked; that they partook of each other's feelings and passions, and therefore were not sufficiently under the controul of any individual, to be dangerous to the liberties of the country.

Of the merits of the question in dispute, which gave rise to this affair, in part a military revolt, and in part a popular commotion, it is difficult to speak. It appears that dissatisfaction prevailed both against the assembly and the executive; the election of Medrano is mentioned as one cause, and another the exclusion of deputies, who ought to have been received. The memorial to the municipality sets forth, "that the public patience had been exhausted by the wayward excesses of the executive, that it was impossible to remain passive, and see their country threatened with so severe a blow at the most critical moment of its existence. That to look on with indifference, and not attempt to ward off the blow aimed *by those two political monsters,* which had sprung up in the midst of them, would be criminal—monsters who have infused their poison into the very heart of the state, and brought its new-born liberty to the verge of the grave." Such is the extravagant language used in these paroxysms of popular phrensy! They also com-

* Mr. Poinsett observes on this occasion, "the military, so often instruments of faction, again lent their aid, and a new executive was appointed by a cabildo abierto, or town meeting."

plain that the executive was guilty of a violation of civil liberty, by disregarding the ninth article of the *estatuto*. That the provision in favor of *individual security*, contained in that article, was only intended to deceive; that the last assembly served only to cover or sanction the abuses, practised by the executive; which they accused of having raised the standard of faction, and proscribed the most useful citizens. They complain of the exclusion, without cause, of the deputies to the assembly from Mendoza, as well as those from Salta and Jujuy, under the pretext, that these places were in possession of the Spaniards; and finally comes the sweeping charge of a treacherous design to surrender the country to the Portuguese. The municipality, or cabildo, is, therefore, requested *to resume the power which had been thus abused*, and to take measures for the appointment of an executive, in whom the people could confide, and also to convene an assembly in whose hands the sovereign authority might be safely intrusted.

What foundation there was for all these charges it is not in my power to say. The probability is, that the very nature of the government itself, so ridiculous in theory, and so defective in its operation, would excite general disgust, and that the party feuds unavoidably produced, would terminate in a Babylonian confusion, from which there was no escape, but through convulsive struggles. It is, however, worthy of admiration, that during several days that the confusion lasted, there was no instance of bloodshed, riots, or violence. The members of the executive disappeared as soon as they saw the gathering storm. Pueyrredon, who was the least obnoxious, concealed himself at the house of a friend, and when the tumult had somewhat subsided, addressed a frank and manly letter to the cabildo, requesting that he might be heard in vindication of his conduct, which

was refused, and he was banished to one of the interior towns, St. Luis, in the province of Cuyo.

This meeting took place, and the administration of the government was, for the present, vested in three persons, to wit: Pena, Passo, and Jonte, under the title of Gubierno Superior, or superior government; who were, as soon as possible, to call together an assembly representing the people of the viceroyalty. These issued their manifesto, containing as usual, a picture of the errors of the former government, and abundant promises to do better. This document contains some sentiments of a more liberal cast, than those produced by the like occasions, whose burden usually had been strict observance of the laws, and obedience to the constituted authorities. "When a people," say they, "have recovered their liberty, the dominant passion with them is the fear of losing it; and, if in their first efforts, any thing in reality or appearance, seems to endanger its possession, they are immediately disposed for a new convulsion, and this is as often repeated as their fears are renewed. From thence forward, indifference and apathy, which constitute the character of the slave, are changed into a sensibility, that often borders on fanaticism; and as, unhappily, misfortunes must frequently attend human affairs, the people in their disappointments are too apt to apply a severe mistrust of those in power. Such is the character which a love of liberty inspires. Happy the people whose impressions are taken from no other principle! Let us leave to the timid reasoner to be ashamed of these successive convulsions; the enlightened philosopher will calculate the progress of the public mind in these oscillations, which threaten its destruction; he will see in these terrible conflicts of opinion, those efforts of nature, which are the forerunners of liberty." I could wish my limits would suffer me to give more copious extracts from

this paper, in order to show the advancement already made by these people, if not in the *principles*, at least in the *love* of liberty. What can be more interesting, especially to an American, than the struggles of a people thus situated, desirous to be free! The arrogant and supercilious may affect to treat these efforts with contempt, because they fall far below those notions they may possess, or have acquired from *the accidental circumstance of having been born in an atmosphere of freedom;* had the same men but lived under a despotism, their slavish souls would have been equally well adapted to the situation.

In the meanwhile summonses had been issued for the purpose of convening the new assembly, intended to form a more immediate and fair representation of the whole people of the viceroyalty. They were chosen in the different cities, by means of electoral colleges, and this assembly was, therefore, supposed to be *personally recognised by every inhabitant.* It was convened on the 30th January, 1813, having been expected with great impatience by the people, who, wearied out by former disappointments, had flattered themselves with great hopes from a body, which approached nearer to their wishes, than any that had hitherto been formed. Its installation was celebrated by public rejoicings every where through the country, and its sessions were opened by an address from the triple executive, acknowledging the supreme power of the state to be vested in this body, which they style the SOVEREIGN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. They further proceeded to declare their exemption from arrest, and to secure their importance and respectability, by a variety of other provisions. The assembly proceeded to the election of a new triumvirate; the choice fell upon the same persons, with the exception of Passo, who was replaced by Perez.

An oath was then administered to them, nearly in the form of that prescribed for the supreme director in the present provisional constitution. Not a word is said of Ferdinand; and from the language and spirit of these proceedings, it is evident they now thought of little else than entire independence. The executive power was no longer to be called *provisional*, but *supreme*. Carlos Alvear was chosen president of the assembly. This body, which was invested with powers greatly more extensive than any which had heretofore assembled, proceeded to do many important acts of absolute sovereignty. National arms and a flag were adopted; and at this period, having been successful in Peru, they coined money with the arms of the state, instead of those of Ferdinand; they ordered a general census to be taken, made a new organization of the military forces, passed regulations for the government of the army and navy, issued a general indulta for offences committed, with certain exceptions; they decreed the children of slaves born in future to be free, and the slaves that might be brought into the country, to be immediately emancipated; they contrived a plan of manumitting others, by purchase from their masters, on part credit. These were formed into battalions, and were to serve the country a certain number of years, as a compensation for their freedom, to be officered by white men, and fed and clothed by the state, and to receive half a dollar per week.

These are amongst the most important acts since the revolution. It is proper to remark, that in the midst of all these changes, the minor and subordinate branches of the government, had gone on with little interruption. The political tempests had merely ruffled the surface. In the manifestos issued from time to time by the for-

mer administrations, there are accounts of minute reforms, numerous indeed, but when there was so much to be done, their aggregate, probably, did not amount to any thing of importance. The provincial and subordinate juntas had been abolished, having been found to clash with the local authorities. The ordinance of the 23d of January, 1812, containing fifty-six articles, exhibits, probably, the greater part of the changes and alterations made in the administration of justice.

We have now entered upon what may be regarded as the second epocha of the revolution. A retrospect of the three preceding years, would show that during that time, very considerable advancement had been made; but notwithstanding the higher tone which had been assumed, they still professed themselves the subjects of Ferdinand, as the time had not yet arrived when they could safely attempt a final separation. This was, however, perhaps, the most enthusiastic period of the revolution, it was the period when the people had begun to awaken from their slumbers, and to feel something like the delirium of liberty, but which they did not yet entirely comprehend, or know how to use. The number of strangers who had come among them, and of books introduced, and the greater attention paid to education, were naturally productive of the most powerful influence. The number of their artificial wants, was increased by the great importations of British goods, which at the same time stimulated their industry. Party spirit, however, was by no means allayed.

The feelings engendered by past transactions were still kept alive, and the petty jealousies and disputes between the leading men and their partisans, still

prevailed. The discontents and jealousies on the part of the other provinces, and Buenos Ayres, were by no [illegible] done away; although by the establishment of the assembly, Buenos Ayres, with the exception of being the capital, or seat of government, was placed on the same footing with the other provinces. But I have already noticed the peculiar tendency in this union, towards anarchy in the members, much more to be dreaded, than to absolute power in the head. The terms *capitalism* and *provincialism* brought into use about this time, show at once the nature of the difference or dispute between the two factions that were now the most numerous and powerful. The first was in favour of something approaching nearer to a consolidated government then that of the United States, but giving much more importance to the provincial governments, than that which they possessed under the viceroyalty, when they were little more than corporations. The opposite party was in favour of carrying to the utmost extreme the independent cabildo governments, united for objects of common interest, but a union too feeble to answer any national purpose; their ideas of union were like that of the Swiss cantons, or more properly of the petty Grecian States. They both made frequent allusions to our federative system, which their writings prove was not understoood by either. The doctrines of the provincialists, were at this juncture much the most dangerous, inasmuch as their success in their contest with Spain, must necessarily depend upon their union; for divided they would certainly fall. No one is ignorant of the motto adopted by us during our struggle for independence. Differences among ourselves, as to the establishment of our government, and the form to be

adopted, were postponed until the termination of our struggle, in other words, *until we had a country for which a government could be established.*

The various acts of the sovereign assembly, were from this time published weekly in the ministerial gazette. From the subjects to which they relate, it would appear that the sovereign power was in reality in their hands, and that the triple executive, in the scale of political importance, had been made "to kick the beam." The probability is, that from the unpopularity of executive power, the vibration of public opinion had gone to the other extreme, and that a disposition prevailed to confide every thing to the assembly. To preserve] the balance was an extremely difficult task; the habits of the people inclined them to look up to the executive for every thing, as they had done to the viceroy, and this branch was therefore found by degrees to have engrossed all authority. An intertermediate body was wanted, capable of fixing the attention of the people, and of curbing the arbitrary will of the executive, and, at the same time, of forming a counterpoise to the assembly. From the habits and characters of the people, a much more powerful counterpoise was necessary than in this country; their want of information, and habit of attending to the details of politics, their mixture of military and ecclesiastic influence in the government, rendered their situation essentially different from ours. A single individual can be trained and educated much more easily than a nation. Their inveterate attachment *to forms and ceremonies, and etiquette,* causes our plain republican habits to appear insipid to them; in fact, I do not know a single one of our state constitutions that would not sit very awkwardly upon them.

One of the decrees of the assembly forbade any

member of the executive from taking command of the forces without special permission. Two commissioners were, at the same time, appointed to visit the upper provinces in order to correct abuses. But this sun, which rose so fair, was soon overcast. The arms of the republic experienced severe reverses in Peru; Belgrano was defeated at Ayuma, while the Spaniards threatened the city of Buenos Ayres from the river La Plata; the consequence of a junction of the Spanish forces in the upper provinces with those at Monte Video, would have produced the same effect as the junction of Burgoyne and the British at New York. The defection of Artigas also manifested itself about this time. The public mind, in consequence of this state of things, was greatly agitated; a more energetic executive was called for; the assembly having engrossed the power of the state, were too much occupied in idle debates. A proposal was brought forward to repose the executive authority in the hands of one person. It was warmly debated, and at length carried; the triumvirate was abolished, and on the 31st of December, Posadas was elected under the title of SUPREME DIRECTOR, and a council of seven appointed to assist him. Belgrano was recalled from Peru, and Rondeau appointed in his stead, while Alvear was invested with the command of the army before Monte Video. The authority of the assembly rapidly declined, as that of the executive increased. Alvear, taking advantage of the popularity he had gained by his success against Monte Video, sought the command of the army in Peru, and having obtained it, was on his way, when informed that the officers and men had come to the determination not to receive him. On his return to Buenos Ayres, those who had been instrumental in his appointment, in order to manifest

still more their regard for him, and their disapprobation of the conduct of the army, succeeded in elevating him to the office of supreme director, Posadas having resigned. This was followed by general disgust throughout the provinces, and all communication between the army of Peru and the capital was interrupted. Cordova and several of the other provinces were on the point of withdrawing from the confederacy. The people had become sensible of their error, and Alvear, finding that his short race of popularity was drawing to a close, conceived the idea of maintaining his authority by the aid of the regular troops.* He withdrew from the city nearly all the regulars, professedly with the intention of marching against Artigas. The people took advantage of his absence, and rose *en masse;* the civic troops and the citizens capable of bearing arms, during three days abandoned all employments, and *stationed themselves on their house tops,* in expectation of his marching against them. But the state of things in the city, was no sooner made known to the army, than respect for Alvear instantly fled—colonels Alvares and Valdenegro, openly declared against him, on which he was compelled to take refuge on board a British ship, whence he made his escape to Rio Janeiro. The authority of the state was again thrown *into the hands of the cabildo.* The assembly during the administration of Alvear, had sunk into insignificance, and fell to pieces of itself. On the 1[illegible]th of April, 1815, the cabildo issued a long manifesto, enume-

* He put to death a person of the name of Ubeda, an act which excited great sensation at Buenos Ayres; the merits of the affair I do not understand. From being the idol of the populace, in the course of a few months he was called the *tyrant!*

rating the evils of the last administration pointing out the errors and defects of the former system, and speaking of past occurrences with a freedom which would not be tolerated by those in power, and who were unable to bear the *severe probe of a free press.* No press ever censured more freely the misconduct of the public men than that of Buenos Ayres, but it was usually after they were turned out of office. The cabildo elected Rondeau supreme director, and Alvares to supply his place, pro tem. A JUNTA OF OBSERVATION was chosen to supply the place of the *sovereign* assembly.

The people by this time, had become wearied and disgusted with these frequent changes, and anxiously looked for something like a settled government; yet the incidents of the revolution thus far, were not unfavourable to liberty. Each political change increased the desire of limiting the executive power, the constant tendency of which, was to become absolute. The checks to this power, were found, on experience, unsuited to the present times; the necessity of the occasion, excused its overstepping the limits of delegated authority, and, in a short time, every check and barrier was borne down. But it will be seen by the succinct narrative that I have given, that there existed among the people, a redeeming energy; the bonds were burst as easily as the new ropes were broken by Sampson. Safeguards, laws, and declarations of rights were resorted to. Their executive was deprived of all power, and their safety confided to popular assemblies, which became mobs. Yet it cannot but have happened, that much political knowledge was gradually spreading among the people. The written statutes and charters of liberty, were appealed to by the lowest among them, which may be regarded as the first dawn of well secured liberty; for who under a despotism could think of invoking the ma-

jesty of the laws for protection, against the majesty of power? The junta of observation published the *estatuto provisional*, which is the origin of the one appended to Mr. Rodney's report; and which recognises every essential social and political right; with this exception, that the authorities are permitted to dispense with the article providing for individual security, when the salus populi shall require it. Even this is only a proof of great caution in guarding against encroachments on their liberties, but at the same time of inexperience. It proceeds from a conviction that in times of revolution, extraordinary cases must arise, where a strict observance of the law might be ruinous to the state; such have occurred in our own country, when our situation was much less critical. The people of Buenos Ayres were conscious of this, but were not aware *that such cases make themselves*, and ought to be left entirely to the responsibility of the magistrate. Mr. Adams's defence of the American constitution, which at this time was very much read and studied, gave them ideas of checks and balances in government, of the representative system, of mixed governments, and of providing for the alteration of their constitution, when a change in the state of manners may require it.* It is a frequent complaint in the newspapers, that the people will not attend the elections, and the increase in the number of votes is mentioned with great exultation.

The new government immediately took measures to convene a NATIONAL CONGRESS, which would fairly represent the whole body of the people; and to do away

* I observe in a Buenos Ayres paper, a long quotation from Judge Marshall's Life of Washington, enumerating the difficulties we had to contend with in the establishment of our constitution.

every idea of capitalism, it was appointed to meet at Tucuman, twelve hundred miles in the interior.* Great expectations were formed of this assembly, which was considered by many as their last hope, for the fate of the republic seemed to approach its crisis. Its situation was truly deplorable. The defeat of Rondeau at Sipe-Sipe, towards the close of 1815, was as calamitous, as the battle of Cannæ to Rome. Chili had fallen a victim to the dissentions of two great families, and was in the possession of the Spaniards, who were in consequence enabled to throw reinforcements into Peru, and at the same time compel Buenos Ayres to form an army at the foot of the Andes, under the command of San Martin, to prevent an attack from that quarter. The Spaniards, it is true, had been dislodged from Monte Video, but the revolt of Artigas, which threatened to draw after it some of the other provinces, was even more vexatious and distracting. Ferdinand, now restored to the throne, was preparing a powerful expedition, as was supposed for the purpose of crushing them at a single blow, at a moment when the success of his armies in Peru and Chili, and the internal dissentions completely seconded his views. It is in times like these, that nations turn their eyes upon their ablest men, and for a while lay aside their petty jealousies and distrust. The resignation of Alvares had been followed by the election of Balcarce, who soon resigned also. The general government possessed neither power, strength, nor influence. The belt of their union had been unbuckled,

* Two petitions, signed by upwards of two hundred citizens of Buenos Ayres, were presented to the municipality, praying that the city might be stripped of the honour of being the capital, as a mode of quieting the discontents of the provinces.

"While bloody treason flourished over them."

In the language of the manifesto of Pueyrredon, "anarchy had lighted up an universal conflagration." The NATIONAL CONGRESS at last assembled, towards the close of 1815. Pueyrredon, who had been called from his retirement, was soon after elected, by an unanimous vote, SUPREME DIRECTOR; certainly no equivocal testimony in his favour. He immediately visited the armies of San Martin and Belgrano, and on his return to Tucuman, proposed the declaration of independence, which was finally passed on the 9th of July, 1816. The incidents of the revolution since that period, are familiar to the generality of readers; I shall, therefore, pursue them no farther, than to observe, that it was in a short time proved by experience, that the distance from the city of Buenos Ayres, occasioned great obstacles in the management of affairs; it was, therefore, determined to remove the congress to that place.

CHAPTER V.

Miscellaneous Observations on the Police, State of Society, and Manners.

I was highly gratified with a visit to the cabildo, or town house, in company with Mr. Frias, the secretary of the municipality. I was struck with the number of officers, the appearance of clerks, papers, and the crowd of people attending on business. All the details of the police are here attended to, and justice administered. I have seen nothing like it, except the City Hall of New-York. The chamber of appeals was not in session; Mr. Frias promised to give me notice when this should be the case, in order that an opportunity might be afforded me, of forming some idea of their courts of justice. He showed me the apartment appropriated to the sessions of the cabildo, or city council, which is handsomely fitted up, and ornamented with two splendid trophies, in gilt frames, each about four feet by three; one of them was presented by the city of Oruro, in Peru, to the city of Buenos Ayres, in testimony of the gallant repulse of the British. It represented the arms of Spain embossed in gold, and several emblematic figures. The other was a singular piece of workmanship in gold and silver, presented by the ladies of Tucuman and Salta, to General Belgrano, to show their gratitude for the two important victories achieved by him at those places. It was overloaded with emblematic figures, with inscriptions and devices: a silver river was represented winding through a field of gold, and towards its head a variety of

figures, emblematic of the provinces of Peru.* I had not time to examine minutely a piece of workmanship, which required as much study as the shield of Achilles. Belgrano had presented it to the city.

I shall take this opportunity to say something of the municipal regulations. The Spanish usages are still retained with but few alterations; for in the minor departments of the government, things pursue pretty much the old train, notwithstanding the revolution; with this difference, that a desire has universally manifested itself, to establish by fixed rules, what was before a matter of routine; and in doing this, some changes would of course be made.† The duties of the cabildo, and the various officers of the police, have been reduced to writing, and printed in a pamphlet. It is divided into nineteen chapters, each containing a number of articles. The cabildo is composed of thirteen persons, annually elected, according to the mode pointed out in the provisional statute. The governor intendant presides, and in his absence the alcalde de primer voto. The duty of the officer last named, as well as that of the other alcalde, is specified by the ordinance of 1812, regulating the administration of justice. He has jurisdiction in suits for the recovery of small debts, not exceeding fifty dollars, with an appeal to the chamber of appeals, which is the court of final resort. There are also *alcaldes de barrio*, (arrondisement) who are particularly entrusted with the peace of the city, and are bound to go the rounds, to see that there be no disturbance. The alcalde de primer voto, has a criminal jurisdiction, similar to

* The *Argentine* republic is the name which they assume in their songs and orations.

† They have a naval code, a military code, and a judiciary code; but these are little better than a few printed rules.

that of the mayor of our cities; the alcalde ordinario is but little more than a justice of the peace; as also the alcaldes de *hermandad*, who are the subordinate magistrates of the country places, and possess a jurisdiction, in many respects similar to that of our justices. In the trial of civil and criminal causes, the first alcalde is assisted by an assessor, as he is called, who must be a lawyer, and who is appointed by the cabildo, and commissioned by the supreme director. Two bailiffs are appointed by the cabildo. The two alcaldes are annually elected, and on going out of office, must leave an exact account of the causes decided by them, for the information of their successors; that is, as we should say, must keep a docket. All officers, without exception, are subject to *residencia*, (which is no longer a matter of form) and must undergo the strictest scrutiny, before they can be employed in any other stations. The alcalde ordinario takes the place of the alcalde de primer voto, on his death or resignation. He is also the judge of probates, but cannot act without the assistance of an assessor, and an officer denominated *defensor de los minores*, the protector of minors.

The *fiel executer*, (faithful executor) superintends the markets, weights and measures, the repairs of streets, and highways, imposes and receives the fines, specified in the different ordinances or by-laws.* He is to inspect the pulperias, the bakers' shops, to see that no violation of the ordinances takes place, has the care of the canals, and of the property of the city. There is also a *defender of the poor*, who attends to such as may have been arrested on accusation of having violated the penal laws. It is his duty to visit the prisons and

* Those passed since the revolution, have not been collected into a volume.

houses of correction, to see that no abuses be practised. He must do this every week, and make a report to the cabildo of the state they are in. He is bound to afford every possible assistance to the poor in the management of their causes, to see that they be brought to speedy trial, and discharged, if innocent.* The *syndic* is to see to the execution of the city ordinances, and without his presence, the cabildo can make no new appropriations, or take any measure in relation to the public property without his knowledge. He is to represent the city in all suits, in which she may be interested. He is to keep an account of the resources of the city, in its different branches, taking from the accountant a minute statement of them. These are some of the principal matters assigned to the different officers I have mentioned.

The cabildo appoints its ministerial officers by plurality of votes, but to be commissioned by the supreme director, and to hold their offices during good behaviour. These are the *alguazil mayor*, whose duty it is to superintend the public prisons, to see that no abuses be committed on the prisoners—to serve all processes, and to be subject to the alcaldes in the discharge of his functions. He receives a fixed salary, his fees, specified in the fee-bill of 1787, being abolished on account of the abuses practised under it. He may appoint deputies, to be approved by the cabildo. The *secretary* of the cabildo, is to make a minute of the proceedings, and to have the care of the public documents, and archives. The *contador*, to keep an account of the city funds, settle accounts, pass vouchers, and to see that no impositions be practised. On the first of January, in every year, he

* I was told that under the old regime, there were instances of persons having been thirty years confined in prison, the original charge against them being forgotten.

is to make out report of the receipts and disbursements, which is published for the information of the people. The *treasurer*, the *notary*, &c. have their respective duties also detailed.

There is nothing so much calculated to raise our estimation of the *trial by jury*, as to observe the operation of those judicial systems where it is unknown. In Buenos Ayres, they do not yet appreciate its blessings. Some have written in favour of it, but none understand it.* Its introduction would be attended with difficulty, from the indifference of the people in the details of government. In Louisiana, the trial by jury is not popular to this day; and we learn from several enlightened writers, how hard it was to naturalize it in France. It is looked upon as a burthen to the citizen, and indeed the number who are qualified to act as jurors, is very small, from that want of general diffusion of the elementary principles of law and justice, which is indispensable. I frequently attempted, but with very bad success, to explain the nature of the grand and petit jury, to some of their most intelligent men. Besides the want of the trial by jury, the trials are not sufficiently public with the parties and witnesses present. They are conducted principally by written statements and arguments, depositions, counter depositions, and interlocutory decrees, which render a lawsuit extremely expensive. No one who has not had some experience on this subject, can form an idea how difficult it is, to transplant the habits and customs of one country into another. My residence in Louisiana, once a Spanish colony, and a most estimable people, convinced me of this truth. The same idea is well expressed by Southey, in his History of

* In the constitution lately adopted, provision is made for its establishment.

Brazil . "Nasau could transplant forest and fruit trees in their full size and bearing; but not the beneficial institutions of his own country; for these things have their root in the history, habits, and feelings of those, with whom they have grown up, and to whose growth they have fitted themselves."

The profession of the law, I am informed, has become much more important than formerly. Eloquence, both spoken and written, are in higher repute, and have excited an increased emulation, as they are the most certain roads to preferment in the state. The business of war, however, throws all others for the present, in the back ground. The civil institutions have, notwithstanding, undergone as much improvement, as was to be expected in such times.

I have frequently repeated, that it would be folly to look here for a state of things any way approaching that of the United States, in correct practical ideas of civil liberty. The government is not to be compared with ours or that of Great Britain, as to the security of personal rights, and the impartial administration of the laws. A comparison may be drawn with that of ancient Greece or Rome, with Switzerland, Holland, or with the Italian states. France was never more despotically ruled than under the reign of the jacobins: and we have too many false brethren of the republican party, who in heart and spirit are jacobins; who delight in mean detraction and slander of those above them in worth and merit, and yet prove the worst of tyrants, if by chance they find themselves clothed with authority.

I was not disappointed in the progress made here since the revolution. They were formerly a stagnant pool—they are now a running stream; occasionally, it is true, tumbling down precipices, foaming and boiling among rocks, but again flowing with pure waters, the delight

and ornament of the neighbouring hills and plains. Their progress, in fact, exceeded my expectations. To criticise their institutions as though they were of some of our neighbouring territories, shows a most pitiful narrowness of mind. To look here for liberty with all its proper guards, at a season like the present, is childish, and more especially, if some particular spot of the earth, be selected as the model by which to try their institutions. The manners, habits, and previous education of a people are to be considered, *and until these are changed, nothing can be said to be changed*; for in spite of the visionary projects of paper constitution men, no matter what form be adopted, or what it may be called, despotism will still have sway and break any restraint attempted to be imposed on it. The forms of free government will only be so far operative as the people are fitted for freedom, and if they are fitted for a government in some measure free, its adoption will in time fit them for one still more free. Such is the present state of Buenos Ayres; their present constitution is even more free in *theory* than in *practice*, and why? Because the great body of the people are indifferent about the details of government. They have been accustomed to be ruled by men, and they have not yet learned that reverence is alone due to the laws. In our country I would ask, if there be not such shades of difference in the character of the different states, as unavoidably to produce a variety in the state constitutions? Would the constitutions of Massachusetts and Virginia, suit every other state in the union? They certainly would not. Why then must we insist on the South Americans establishing a government precisely like ours, before we can extend to them our friendship? They must form their governments as they build their houses; with the materials they have at hand.

There is no doubt it will be essentially republican, but will also differ considerably from ours.

In tracing the outline of their internal revolutions, there is nothing which struck me so forcibly, as their abstaining from shedding blood, in the midst of their most violent civil feuds. When compared to other revolutions, it may be very justly said to be bloodless. One of the writers of Buenos Ayres, in drawing a comparison between the conduct of Spain and that of his own country, uses these words: "What comparison is there to the revolutions of Spain, (the contests of the different provincial juntas, for the exclusive privilege of using the name of the captive king,) where intrigue and ambition alone prevailed, and the love of country had no part? Have we, after having set up, and again overturned a thousand governments, ever been known to drag through the streets and cut to pieces, numbers of our most respectable fellow-citizens, for the mere purpose of satiating our thirst of power, and to obtain a shameful gratification of our personal resentment? It is true, we are not wanting in courage and spirit, *to kill men*, but the weapon would drop from our hands, if about to be stained with the blood of our countrymen." I am inclined to think, with Mr. Rodney and Mr. Graham, that liberty would gain by a delay in establishing a constitution; but, unfortunately, the enemies of the congress continually censuring their delay, and the people [illegible]xious for the final settlement of the government. [illegible] the universal language was, O that we had but [illegible]on—that our government might be fixed at [illegible]em to sicken at the thought of new revolu[illegible]uch were scarcely more tired of their [illegible] A person might be led to believe, [illegible]mper, that they are willing to re[illegible]rnment, that would effectually

put an end to t..eir revolutionary state. While that state continues, they are sensible the hands of the executive must be strengthened, and power abused—and without this, they would be at the mercy of new tumults. "Another revolution," says the manifesto of the national congress, "and all is lost."

It is proper to bear in mind, that the revolution of Buenos Ayres was not of one family, or branch of a family against another; it was of a whole people, throwing off their former government, and endeavouring to establish a new one. They were contending for themselves, and not for a race of nobility. They had no families among them of long standing. All their leaders have been brought into view by their revolutions. I should be sorry to see a Napoleon rise up among them, but if there should be one, *still would I wish him success, in the great cause of emancipation from Spain.* The best way to avoid this danger, is to establish an energetic constitution, but recognising the leading principles of liberty. The tendency of anarchy is to fit a people for despotism. All the sober and respectable, from the horrors of anarchy, will naturally turn their eyes towards a more energetic constitution. From no government, the transition is to all government. There is nothing which so much disheartens, as the continual vibrations of political establishments, for with this instability, is connected *the idea of general insecurity.** The governme

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* The downfall of Napoleon had a most happy eff- opinion in South America, as well as over the whole world. This effect was to bring the solid p..rami- into higher repute. The spendid monarchy e.. ta' seemed to deride the poverty and plainness o.. but its fall clearly proved that monarchs are ... than nations. The European s..

of Buenos Ayres will of course be republican, but in its modification, it will contain many features which we must condemn, unless allowance be made for times and circumstances, and these cannot be understood without a knowledge of the prejudices and character of the people. Religion will be unavoidably blended with the government, as the successor to the king is also the head of the church.* But whatever modification of republicanism be adopted by them at present, there is no probability of its being unchangeable. For the very circumstance of its republican form will enable the people to advance so rapidly in knowledge, that what may suit the present generation, will not be found suited to the next. The military force must be in the hands of the people, and the equal distribution of wealth, likely to prevail for a long time, will prevent the monopoly of power in the hands of a few. It is a fact worthy of attention, that nearly all their statesmen, generals, and public men, are persons who have either no fortune, or are merely in middling circumstances. I repeat that my hopes rest on the people, on the aggregate of society. The rulers will, in a country like this, inevitably follow its condition. If the state of society be progressive, it will soon out-

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the mightiest throne which ever existed could be overturned, did much more in favour of republicanism, than our example or principles. Since that time, the nations of Europe have regarded our institutions with a degree of admiration which before they did not feel; and if in South America, there had been any intention to follow the example of the French in the result of their revolution, it was completely changed by the overthrow of Napoleon. It is since that time that republicanism has been in all minds inseparably connected with the establishment of new governments, even in countries whose habits were previously monarchical.

* See the Introduction to this work.

grow their present political institutions. The leading men can figure but a short time on the stage, unless they contrive to close up all the avenues of improvement, by a complete restoration of the inquisitorial system of Spain. The bare suggestion of such an idea by the present rulers, would cause them to be instantly hurled from their stations. Such a thing is becoming each day less practicable; unless the exclusion of the light be complete, unless the flame of liberty be entirely quenched, it will continue to spread more and more. The progress in all classes has been prodigious, notwithstanding that during the first six years of the revolution, they were ostensibly faithful to Ferdinand, and subject in *some measure to a monarchical regimen.**

The press may be shackled, the government may display power of a despotic nature, but it can have no security for its permanence, but that which the people may choose to give. The pains taken in the education of their youth, has been already noticed; they are not left as with us, to catch the contagion of liberty in *the air they breathe*; they resort to culture, and do not trust to spontaneous growth. Political precepts are mingled with every thing, and the noble, yet simple truths of republicanism, are scattered every where. In company with Dr. Baldwin, I one day asked a little boy whether he went to school? "Yes, sir, we all go to

* The pomp and parade of the viceroyalty was not altogether laid aside by the new rulers. These things were abolished by degrees. It was decreed that there should be no particular seats at the church for any of the public functionaries, *because all men are equal before God.* The director and cabildo have a distinct seat at the theatre; but the mayor of New Orleans has even now his particular box. No mark of distinction is shewn to the director when he appears in public, as far as I could learn.

school." What do you learn? "To write, cypher, and *sing the country!*" (cantar la patria.)

As far as the destinies of the nation can at the present time depend on particular men, they apparently rest on three individuals, Pueyrredon, Belgrano, and San Martin, who have a perfect understanding with each other, and are supported by the leading men of the country. With respect to the two first, they have been actors in the scenes of the revolution from the commencement, and have both been abroad. Pueyrredon has been much abused in the United States, but this abuse originated with personal enemies. From the most impartial examination of every thing that has been said of him by friends and foes, I am convinced that he is not only a sincere patriot, but a great man. We have seen the greatest and wisest men of our own country so often traduced, that we have learned to attach much more importance to great and faithful services, than to vague and indefinite accusations. One of the writers of the country, in answer to the pieces which appeared in some of our papers, speaks in the following manner: "With respect to you, Mr. Editor, I will ask you to compare the present state of our country, with what it was eighteen months ago, and then say whether our chief magistrate deserves to be represented in such odious colours. Do you know, sir, that there never has existed so much order and liberty in our provinces, as during the present administration? That many of those who were the personal enemies of Pueyrredon, have now become his eulogists?—This is known to all the provinces. And this is the man, sir, whom you have the hardihood to call a tyrant? Hardly is it known at Buenos Ayres, that the man who directs the affairs of the United Provinces is there. He rarely appears in the street, and then in so plain a manner, that no one who passes him by, would take notice that he is the

chief magistrate. Has there been a single instance of his treating with rudeness any citizen who has thought proper to call upon him? Has there ever been a magistrate so assiduous in his application to business? When is he to be seen day or night out of his cabinet? In spite of ill health he does not suffer himself to repose from the duties and cares of his station. None accuse him of predeliction for his friends; no one accuses him of employing his power for personal advantages. The director knows that this is not said with the intention of flattering him, but that it has given the author pain to write them. He knows that he is respected by the public opinion, and that if the air does not resound with shouts in his praise, it is because we are freemen, and they who govern are free. When there are no flatterers in a state, and order prevails, the inference is inevitable—they are not tyrants who govern."

During two months that we remained at Buenos Ayres, we certainly heard of no instance of tyranny and oppression exercised on the citizens, and we had the most satisfactory proof of the director's unremitted attention to business. We saw him but seldom, but he always cheerfully waived the business in which he was engaged, in order to meet us. In our last interview, he gave Mr. Rodney to understand, that he intended to retire from office on the ratification of the constitution; and I have been informed by Mr. Worthington, that he was pressed to remain, but that he had positively declared he would not, and that he is now more popular than ever.

The great man of the country is unquestionably San Martin, although only acting as a military chief. He is a native of the missions on the Parana, of respectable connections, but not distinguished. From his youth he possessed a military turn of mind, and in the stuggles of Spain against the French, he served on the Peninsula as

an aid to one of the Spanish generals, but returned to his own country when his services were required. He first distinguished himself in 1812, in the defeat of the Spaniards, who attempted to maintain a position at San Lorenzo, on the Parana; in this affair, he displayed great boldness and intrepidity, and his success had a happy effect in reviving the drooping spirits of a people whose fortunes were at this time much obscured. San Martin, almost from the moment of his return from Spain, had fixed the attention of his countrymen; and his reputation made a silent but rapid progress. There are some men, who possess an indescribable something, which commands confidence and respect, even before any thing remarkable has appeared in their actions. His great application to the duties of his profession, his high character for integrity, prudence, and moral rectitude, insured him at once the esteem of the respectable among his fellow-citizens. By foreigners he was still more admired, than by his own countrymen, as being more free from the vices of the creoles, and having the most enlarged and liberal views. At first, the strict discipline which he introduced, and the great application to study, which he required of the young officers, made him enemies, and afterwards friends. In 1813, he was appointed governor of Cuyo, and at the same time was invested with the military command in this quarter. His strict justice, and his general deportment gained the affections of these people, and when on one occasion there was some idea of removing him, they earnestly remonstrated against it. On the conquest of Chili, the people of Mendoza, apprehensive of the Spaniards, reposed all their hopes of safety on San Martin, who immediately set to work in organizing an army for their defence, and, at the same time, secretly cherishing the design of freeing Chili from her enemies.* We have seen that his success was com-

plete. I am restrained from entering minutely into the history of his life for the present; I may resume the subject at some future period.

There are some traits in his character, which I shall, however, notice. His self-denial, in refusing any promotion, had its effect, where every one was striving for it, without regard to his merits, and became a malcontent if disappointed. The fact of many officers of superior rank serving under him, is a proof that this compliment is due to his personal merit; and it must be admitted, that the circumstance is either a very extraordinary one, or a very high testimony in his favour. After the battle of Chacabuco, when the Spaniards were driven out of Chili, the supreme director promoted him to the rank of major-general, but he declined accepting, having already publicly declared, that he would accept no higher rank, than that which he held. The affair was referred to the congress, which decided that for this time, San Martin should have his own way; but if, on a future occasion, his services to the country should be such as to merit promotion, it would be his duty to accept. After the battle of Maipu, he was accordingly promoted. When we consider the necessity of checking that vicious impatience for promotion, by examples of self-denial and noble disinterestedness, the conduct of San Martin will be viewed in a more favourable light. He has publicly declared his determination *to accept of no civil office whatever, and to renounce his military situation, as soon as his country shall gain her independence.** I have no doubt, that the examples of self-denial, set by Belgrano,

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* A number of interesting documents relating to this distinguished man, have been published in the Delaware Watchman, as translated by Mr. Read.

San Martin, and recently by Pueyrredon, will have the most happy effects on the character of the people. The pains taken by San Martin to avoid all public demonstrations of gratitude for his services, I have been told by persons well acquainted with him, proceeds from natural plainness and simplicity of manners. It was not possible for him to avoid them; and to none of the chiefs of the revolution, have such honours been paid by every description of people. These are unbought and spontaneous demonstrations, which speak more in his favour, than the abuse of his enemies in his dispraise. Excepting the entry of General Washington into Philadelphia, of General Jackson at New Orleans, there is no instance in modern history, of respect paid to a mortal, equal to that shown to San Martin, on his entry into Buenos Ayres, after the battle of Maipu, in which Chili was a second time rescued by him. No account of this has ever been published in our papers; I have learned it only from information derived from private letters, and newspapers from that place, giving the particulars. That these demonstrations were unfeigned, there can be no doubt, and prove incontestibly, that whatever we may think of San Martin, or of his intentions, the people of the United Provinces look upon him as the first and greatest man among them.

It is not for me to speak with confidence of the real character of this man, or to say positively that his humility is genuine, or merely "young ambition's ladder." To condemn for supposed intentions, would not be just; as long as a man's actions are great and honourable, it is ungenerous to supply improper motives. Some of his enemies, without stopping a moment to give him credit for what he had done, fall foul of him with vulgar abuse and insinuation, for leaving something undone, which they fancy he had it in his power to accomplish. With-

out intending it, they tacitly acknowledge his merits, at the same time that they betray their own injustice. If he has rendered service, why not allow credit for it? If he has in reality accomplished nothing, why censure him for leaving something undone? Why not at once, deny that he has rendered any service? Why not say, that he owes his elevation to trick, deception, or favour, and then it would admit of argument, whether such a thing, under all the circumstances, is probable. This is noticed merely because it has been repeated by persons, from whom something better ought to have been expected. Let us not condemn, unless we can condemn with good reason. We must leave it to time to disclose whether he is a man of ordinary ambition, like the thousands whose names have been enrolled in history, as distinguished for talents more than for virtue; or whether he is to be ranked among the few, who have justly won the esteem of the good of all ages.

The national congress, during our stay at Buenos Ayres, only assembled thrice a week, on account of the number which composed the committee, daily occupied in preparing the constitution, and which would not be reported under several months. They were resolved not to go hastily to work, in forming this important instrument. The appearance of the congress as a body, is highly respectable; their sessions were held in a large hall, but not generally attended by many spectators. The president was elevated a few feet above the rest, at the end of the hall; the table or desk at which he sat, covered with crimson velvet, which fell down on the Turkey carpet, that covered the floor. The members were seated along the sides of the room in arm chairs, and fronting each other. On the subjects discussed, they seldom rose to speak; it is only on occasions of formal debate, that they rise; business is therefore

despatched much more speedily than with us. Most of them are grave and venerable men, and the strictest decorum and propriety are observed. Out of twenty-six, there were eleven clergymen, but one half of them were probably merely politicians; they were all speakers, and men of the best education and talents the country could afford; they spoke in general closely, and to the purpose, but all with great facility, and some with eloquence, in a language which is eloquent in itself. Very frivolous and illiberal accounts have been published in our newspapers, on the subject of this body, by persons, who find it much easier to decry and abuse, than to understand.

This volume having been unavoidably taken up with subjects of more importance, I have been unable to render it as amusing, as I could have desired, by relating a variety of incidents, and making observations on the manners of the people, and state of society. The respectable class of people are polite and hospitable; their houses are genteely furnished, but with less display of luxury, than in our cities. A very splendid ball was given to us by Messrs. Zimmerman and Lynch, (brother-in-law to the director,) an account of which was published in our newspapers. There were upwards of two hundred ladies present, and in point of elegance and splendour, the entertainment could not be surpassed in this country.

The morals of the people are unfavourably spoken of by strangers, and with too much truth; but, at the same time, there is much exaggeration; they are not naturally better or worse than other people, and I much question, whether the greater part of their vices are not to be attributed to the peculiar tendency of colonial society. I have no doubt, but that we are a more virtuous people,

than we were before our revolution. Since that memorable period, new and before unthought of paths have been opened to us. Our ambition and our industry were rewarded by success in the different professions; the hope of obtaining employments under the general and state governments, stimulate hundreds besides those who are successful. Connected also with them are a thousand new branches of industry in the arts, sciences, trade, and commerce. All combine to call into honourable and useful employment, those talents which would otherwise lie buried in indolence and vice. The observation will apply to South America; the Belgranos, the San Martins, the Rondeaus, the Pueyrredons, the Balcarces, and the Tagles, and a hundred others, who now figure there, instead of being the leaders of armies, and engaged in laying the foundation of empires, would have been perhaps the leaders of broils, or engaged in disturbing the peace of families by vile intrigues.

Depons remarks the great aptitude of the South Americans for the sciences, and Azara thinks their natural capacities superior to the Europeans. Humboldt and Depons remark the avidity with which they procure foreign books, especially French; as also their extravagant thirst for distinction, and great desire to obtain offices. In Carracas, nothing pleased a young American so much, as to be told that he looked like a Frenchman. When a colonial militia was established, and the appointment of captains, colonels, &c. distributed among them, they diverted a great part of the youth from the study of theology and law, as they had then some kind of employment, although without a salary or emolument. The law, however, has always been a favourite study with them, and the acquaintance which I obtained of the Spa-

rish jurisprudence, while at New Orleans, induced me to form a very different opinion of it, from that generally entertained. Depons considers the Spanish Americans much superior to the French in sold attainments, but inferior in elegant accomplishments. The profession of the law, he observes, holds a much higher rank in the colonies, than in Spain, as does also the mercantile profession; but the class of American nobility is much less respected, than in the old country. The importance attached to ceremonies and to etiquette, as stated by this author, is truly singular, and is to be taken into view in judging of their actions, to distinguish what is form from what is substance; but, in truth, form appears to be regarded among them as substance. The neglect of any of the numerous ceremonies, established by the tacit laws of society, is attended with serious quarrels; to strangers, they are extremely troublesome, and appear ridiculous. Much less of this prevails at Buenos Ayres, than at Carracas, at least if we place implicit faith in the account of Depons. There is a remarkable fact, which I observed while at Buenos Ayres, and found afterwards confirmed by Depons: *the duel has never prevailed in any part of South America,* and no distinction is made in public opinion, between the common murderer, and the man who kills another in a duel. I observed in one of the papers of Buenos Ayres, of some years back, a very serious remonstrance on the part of the government, against two British officers who fought in the neighbourhood of that city. Some may be disposed to say that this accounts for the frequency of assassinations; but these prevail in Spain much more than in America: and Depons declares, that the assassinations, with scarcely

an exception, are perpetrated either by foreigners, or among the very lowest class of natives, who never fight duels. He gives, perhaps, the true reason for this vile blot on the Spanish character, when he says, "the Spaniards pay less attention to police, for *public tranquillity,* than any other people."* During our stay at Buenos Ayres, there was but one instance of a murder in the city; the body was publicly exposed before the cabildo, where the inquisition was held; a barbarous custom tending to harden the people, by habituating them to sights of horror. But these occurrences had been much more frequent, before the establishment of the *military commission* by the congress, at the recommendation of the director; it was established for six month, and entrusted to General Ramon Balcarce; its salutary effects had begun to be felt and acknowledged in freeing the country from the ruffians and vagabonds, who were ready to commit any crime, and would probably be continued for some time longer.

The private quarrels among the creoles, give rise to numerous law suits, the Spanish laws furnishing more extensive redress for injuries, particularly of reputation, than the common law. It is a great evil in their society; and in what society are there not evils? The following observations of Depons, although not entirely applicable to Buenos Ayres, are unfortunately but too much so. "An unguarded word, a neglected etiquette, is enough to make eternal enemies—there is no generous forgiveness—they can never do any justice to their enemy after this, he is the subject of their detes-

* Depons, vol. iii. p. 94.

tation, and they take all occasions to vent their hatred by abuse."

Great attention is paid to the forms of their religion; the common class of people may have become somewhat less superstitious, but their religious opinions have undergone no change, while the more enlightened are obliged to pretend a more than ordinary degree of veneration for it, in proportion as their actions become more liberal. The public mind is not yet prepared for religious toleration, and will not be for many years to come; perhaps not until the extinction of the monastic orders, which will take place in the course of fifteen or twenty years. A brief account of the present state of these institutions may be interesting. At Monte Video there is a monastery, which contains ten or a dozen monks of the Franciscan order. At San Lorenzo, on the Parana, below Santa Fee, there is also a monastery of Franciscans, but their numbers are also small. At Buenos Ayres, there are five monasteries, one of Dominicians, two of Franciscans, one de la Merced, and one de Belermites. The three first are what are called *casas grandes*, that is, have a certain jurisdiction over other monasteries, according to the peculiar monastic divisions or provinces in South America; for there are what may be called monastic as well as ecclesiastic and civil divisions.* The *casas grandes* of Buenos Ayres have jurisdiction over four ecclesiastical provinces. The monks are about twenty-five or thirty in number in each, and are supported by rents from their real estate, from funds at interest, and

* An ecclesiastical province means nothing more than a bishopric; the jurisdiction of the *casas grandes* is arbitrary.

other property; they have enough to live upon but are not rich. There are two convents, that of San Catalina, and of San Juan. The first is possessed of sufficient funds for the comfortable subsistence of thirty or forty nuns; in the other, they support themselves by their own industry, with some occasional pious donations; they also undertake the education of young ladies, as at New Orleans. Cordova contains four monasteries and two convents, and about the same number of monks and nuns as at Buenos Ayres; the inhabitants of Cordova are said to be the greatest devotees in the United Provinces, as those of Buenos Ayres are the most liberal. Santiago del Estero, Tucuman, Catarmarca, Salta, and Jujuy, have eleven monasteries, but the monks support themselves with difficulty in the present state of things. The revolution has fallen very heavily on this class of people every where.

Potosi contains six monasteries and two convents. They were formerly richly endowed, but on account of the rapid decay of the city, their revenues are barely sufficient to support them; but they find an inexhaustible fund in the superstition of the Peruvians. Chuquisaca (or Charcas) has five monasteries and three convents; all richly endowed, and enjoying extensive revenues, as these are derived from cultivated lands. Cochabamba has five monasteries and four convents, one of them in Misque, and another in Clisa; they are all rich. Santa Cruz has four monasteries, which are poor. Oruro has four, but all extremely poor. The province of La Paz, has by far the greatest number, and with revenues nearly equal to all the rest put together. It will be seen by the foregoing statement, that there is a surpris-

ing difference between the religious establishments of the lower provinces, and those on the heads of La Plata.

During our stay, the festival of Corpus Christi occurred. For a whole week the inhabitants abstained from all labour, the shops were shut up, the churches constantly crowded with people, while a great number of ladies were continually seen going to and from the different churches; and as they have a prescribed number of *ave marias* to say, they mutter them as they pass along. Some of them go to nine or ten churches, and are never accompanied by gentlemen, but move along in family groups, the children going before, preceded by a black servant carrying a small carpet to kneel upon, the mother following the flock. I was struck with the uncommon neatness of their dress, generally black, with silk stockings, of which they are passionately fond. The last day of the festival was closed by pompous processions, carrying saints, and chaunting at all the different corners of the streets. So many authors have described these magnificent processions, that I shall not trouble the reader with a minute account of them. They prove that veneration for their religion has not ceased as it did in the revolution of France, although the attention of the people has been diverted to a variety of other objects.

I am aware that in the course of this work, I have seen things in a more favourable light than most others, perhaps from a natural inclination to be pleased instead of finding fault. There is no doubt that much might be said of the faults discoverable on the reverse of the medal. Favourable accounts of countries, without any of the counterbalancing disadvantages, are very apt to

deceit; aware of my natural inclination, and warm feelings in favour of the success of the cause, I have endeavoured to guard against too favourable a representation, and perhaps may in some particulars, have from this caution, done them injustice. On the whole, I do not know that even if I could reconcile it to my feelings to expatriate myself for any country on earth, I should like to settle at present in the United Provinces and still less in the dominions of Artigas; and I do not know that I would advise any friend to do so, no matter what his occupation might be. I am writing for my own country, and not for others. Although Buenos Ayres cannot be said to be *toto devisos ab orbe*, yet it is very far removed from the civilized world. The difference in the municipal laws, the remains of Spanish despotism, the want of that feeling of comfort and security in private life, perhaps known only among us, and the present unsettled state of affairs, are serious objections. There is no certainty that some faction will not league with the military and overturn the government. The savage character of the population of the plains, the gloominess of the colonial catholic faith, the low state of literature and the arts, compared to other civilized countries, and in fact, the newness of all the arts of civilization, are serious considerations. The feverish state of the public mind from the doubt still hanging over them as to the result of the contest—one day depressed, and the next extravagantly elated—distrusts sown among them, a thousand warring interests, jealousies, hatreds, envies shew themselves when we look at the counterpart of the picture.

Towards the latter part of our stay the affairs of the country wore a most gloomy aspect. Accounts were daily received that the Spanish army was continually ad-

vancing towards Santiago. The uneasiness of the public mind cannot well be conceived. But when the news arrived of the dispersion of the army of San Martin at Talca, the effect was such as to produce a kind of settled gloom over the city. The streets were almost deserted, and an anxiety prevailed among all classes which could not have been greater if their own fate had been at issue. The enemies of San Martin were busily at work; placards were stuck up, it was supposed by the old Spaniards, and the friends of Carrera experienced a secret satisfaction, which they could with difficulty conceal. Before this they represented San Martin as a deep designing man, who made a tool of O'Higgins, they now spoke of him as an imbecile pretender; and one of them observed to me, "If he can get out of this scrape, I will acknowledge that he is a clever fellow." They told me that he had resigned the command of the army to general Brayere, on finding himself entirely incompetent to the task, and had resolved to fight at the head of his cavalry.* If true, the fact only proved, that he was actuated by a higher motive than selfish pride. A few days, however, brought the account of the splendid victory of Maipu. I shall not attempt to describe the sensation produced in the city by this important event, and which greatly surpassed all expression of popular feeling I had ever witnessed. "The capital," says Funes, "from its extreme depression was now elevated to the highest pitch of joy. The streets, before silent and fearful, were suddenly filled by the inhabitants; like the blood, which

* Brayere left the army after the affair of Talca in disgrace.

after some moments of deep suspense, and anxious fear, rushes again from the heart to the extremities of the body. The scenes which ensued, can only be conceived by those who have witnessed the sublime effusion of popular feeling, when each thinks his own happiness that of his posterity, his friends, and his country are entirely involved. There was a general and almost universal exclamation, 'AT LAST WE ARE INDEPENDENT!' While San Martin was hailed as the genius of the revolution."

CHAPTER VI.

Departure from Buenos Ayres—Touch at San S[illegible]dor—Island of Margaritta—Victory of Maipu—Its effects [illegible] Venezuela—New Grenada, &c.—Position of the military forces there.

As the time of our departure drew near, o[illegible] impatience to return to our native country increased. [illegible]owards the latter end of April, we bid adieu to Bueno[illegible] Ayres, a number of the most respectable citizens attending us to the beach. On the 29th the Congress weighed anchor from off Monte Video, and touched at Maldonado, to take in supplies. Here we experienced a dreadful pampero, from which we considered our escape peculiarly fortunate. On the 4th of Ma[illegible], we took our departure from this place with a favourable wind. We had a fine run to Cape Frio, which we made the seventh day after leaving the river.

The commodore observes, "It was on the 11th of May I fell in with Cape Frio, and passed it within a few leagues. Kept upon a wind heading north-east. At ten o'clock, *p. m.* got bottom in twenty-five fathoms, coral rock. No sounding of this kind being laid down in my chart, I felt much alarmed, and more particularly so a[illegible] the night proved very dark and rainy, with heavy squalls, sometimes heading off north by east. At meridian lost soundings, having passed, as I imagine, over this ledge of rocks lying off St. Thome, distant at least thirty miles. Cape St. Thome is laid down in twenty-one degrees fifty minutes south latitude. I came into these soundings in latitude twenty-one degrees twenty-five minutes, and [illegible]ried them in a north-easterly direction to latitude twen[illegible]

one degrees thirty-seven minutes, having from twenty-nine to thirty-seven fathoms, and immediately after shoaling to thirty-three fathoms, there was no bottom with one hundred and twenty fathoms of line. The wind then drew round to an east-north-easterly direction, and blew in tremendous squalls, with much rain; and fearing as I did, that if I continued on, bordering along the coast until I came up with the Abrolhos shoals, which give broken soundings at least two hundred miles off the land, that the wind might come back to its natural point, the south-east, and embay me, I reluctantly tacked to south-east, and before I could make my easting, I was set to the south of Cape Frio, by a strong current setting about south-south-west or south-west. The wind continued to blow from north to north-north-east, heading us up on each tack for twelve days, which entirely disappointed us in our prospect of a fine passage to St. Salvador."

During this unpleasant period of contrary winds, we were driven nearly into the supposed latitude and longitude of the island of Portuguese Ascension, whose existence is a subject of doubt among navigators; a singular circumstance, considering how completely this sea has been explored for the last hundred years. A description and drawing is given of it by Frezier; but the Russian navigator, Kreuzenstern, a few years ago, devoted some time in search of it without success. From the circumstance of seeing several land birds, at the distance of five or six hundred miles from any known shore, we were almost induced to believe, that we were near this fabled island, as it is now supposed to be.

After a passage of twenty-five days from Rio La Plata, we came in sight of San Salvador, or Bahia. "I found in running in for this place, a strong north-easterly current, setting at least one and a half knots the hour, produced, no doubt, by the south-south-west wind, which

ra. blown almost a gale for two or three days. My ship was brought down to close reefed topsails and storm-staysails, in standing off upon a wind, after having made my run as nearly as prudence dictated, the night being dark and weather very squally. I tacked at eight o'clock, *p. m.* and stood off under easy sail, going with a high head sea, two and a half knots the hour, until four, *a. m.* when I tacked on west, and made more sail; and at six, *a. m.* saw the land, bearing north-west, supposed to be the cape. I stood in until it was ascertained to be so, and at eight o'clock, *a. m.* the weather looking very bad and blowing hard, I stood off again until ten o'clock, *a. m.* when the weather clearing and moderating in some degree, I wore and stood in again, and at meridian observed, in latitude thirteen degrees and nine minutes south, Cape St. Antonio, bearing west-north-west three-fourths west, distant four or five leagues, chronomoter longitude, agreeing exactly with the chart, contained in the East India Pilot, but our charts differing from it, thirty miles, in laying down this cape; I am at a loss which to rely on.

"I continued standing in upon a wind heading from west to west-south-west, sagging fast to leeward with the current and sea, until the cape bore, or rather the fortress, standing on the spit of the cape, nearly north, when I perceived the colour of the water alter suddenly, indicating soundings. I hove the lead with thirty-five fathoms, and got no bottom. In a few minutes, got eighteen fathoms; next cast fifteen, next twelve, and then nine, when the ship was hove in stays, and luckily came round, for there is no knowing how much water a few minutes more might have given us. It was now four o'clock. The fortress bore north half east, and we were distant from it about two and a half leagues, while this shoal is laid down in all my charts, at the distance of

four miles, with four fathoms. This apprehension, and finding no attention paid to my signals for a pilot, I stood off until four o'clock, *a. m.* when I tacked, and at an early hour again made the land. The land to the north-east of St. Salvador, cannot be mistaken. For ten leagues there are no very prominent parts, although the land is considerably elevated, and somewhat irregular and broken; but it may always be known from six to ten leagues from the cape, by its white, spotted, chalky appearance, somewhat resembling linen spread upon a green sward to bleach."

Not being able to procure a pilot, the commodore determined to run in by his charts, which he effected without any accident. On our approach to this great city, we descried a forest of masts, indicating its great importance as a commercial place. The entrance to the harbour is by no means as safe as that of Rio, and from its width, not so easily fortified. The harbour is one of the most spacious in the world, bordered by a most beautiful picturesque country, in a high state of cultivation in cotton, cocoa, coffee, and sugar. The city is situated upon a hill, several hundred feet in height, but a considerable part of it occupies the sides of the hill, and the narrow strip of land at its base. The upper, or new town, is much better built, and has an air of cleanliness, unusual in Portuguese towns. The king touched here, on his arrival in the country, and a monument has been erected in one of the public gardens, commemorative of the event. Mr. Hill, the American consul, a gentleman of fine talents and agreeable manners, came on board, and escorted us to his house, where we were shewn every mark of attention and hospitality. We called on the governor, the count dos Palmas, who succeeds the count dos Arcos, lately appointed prime minister.

On the fifth of June, having laid in every necessary supply, the commodore resolved to make all sail for the United States.* "About four o'clock, *p. m.* with the ebb tide just making, we weighed anchor, and commenced beating out of the harbour. At seven o'clock, it became very dark and squally, with the wind right in, and the pilot who had insisted on leaving us an hour before, saying we were as far as he could take us, on finding his canoe filling astern, he became so alarmed, as to be quite useless. I suffered him to depart, although not clear of the western shoal, which runs off several leagues, and as long as I could see the light-house on the castle of St. Antonio, I kept under way beating out; but at length it became so dark and squally, that I determined to come to an anchor, and did so in thirteen fathoms." The next day we succeeded in gaining the open sea, and proceeded on our voyage. We had a delightful run along the coast, passing between the continent and the island of Fernando de Naronka, thus shortening our distance considerably.

"On Sunday, the twenty-first of June, at nine o'clock, *p. m.* my reckoning was out, and the ship had been previously put under her three topsails, double reefed, steering down west from latitude observed at meridian, eleven degrees twenty-four minutes north, the north-east end of Tobago lying (by Bowditch) in eleven degrees twenty-nine minutes. I continued to run down all night, the moon shining quite bright, but saw no land. At daylight, made all sail, and hauled up west by south believing we had been deceived by the currents, we had al-

* I have omitted many interesting particulars, which I intended to have stated, suffering somewhat from indisposition, and being worn out by continual application for several months.

lowed b[illegible] lunars and our chronometer, when at nine, a. m. on Monday, the island of Grenada was discovered bearing west-south-west. I then discovered, by examining the 'Personal Narrative' of Humboldt, (one of the most accurate [illegible] of latitude and longitudes that has [illegible] written,) that the north-east end of Tobago, lies in latitude eleven degrees seventeen minutes south, which added to a strong current setting to the north-west, had occasioned our passing Tobago without seeing it."

On Tuesday, the twenty-third, we anchored in Pampatar roads; the island of Margaritta, far famed for its heroic repulse of Morillo, had the appearance of a bleak and barren rock. The next day I went on shore with an officer. We found the village, which might at one time have contained several hundred souls, in a state of ruin. I waited on the governor, a kind of Indian about seven feet high. On inquiring for Gomes, the governor of the island, he told me that he was at the village of Assumption, some miles in the interior. I then made arrangements for horses to ride over the next day, in order to pay him a visit. Accordingly, early the next morning, the commissioners, the commodore, several officers of the ship, Mr. Read, and myself, went on shore. After being detained some time, we were mounted on some wretched animals, so small and poor as to be just able to carry us. We passed through a poor [illegible] country, bordered by high and naked hills, but as we approached Assumption, its appearance grew somewhat better. Near the town, we were shown the valley where Morillo had been defeated, with the loss of fifteen hundred men. When we consider that this victory was achieved by peasants, the greater part of whom were armed only with stones, it deserves to rank with those of the days of William Tell. A breakfast *a la fourchette*, was provided for us by Gomes, who received us with

hospitalit . He a man of ste countenance and Herculean frame; his complexion is very fair, which I consider somewhat singular in a native of these islands. There were fifteen or twenty officers, whose complexi were not so fair, but who shone out well in their uniforms. I was much pleased with two young men, who arrived to invite us to dine at Griego, with their father, General Arismendi, who we now learned was on the island. The invitation was accepted by Mr. Read, Lieutenants Clack and Vorhees, but the commodore and the commissioners declined on account of the excessive heat.

Some distance from Assumption, we crossed a rapid stream, whose channel was well supplied with water, and its borders shaded by trees of a prodigious size; after this we passed a number of small cabins and cultivated patches along the road side, for two or three miles, when we gradually began to ascend the mountains, which are as high as the Alleghanies, and their sides, until cleared for cultivation, covered with wood. We saw a great number of small patches, a few acres each, where the inhabitants cultivate manidioca, cotton, banas, and Indian corn. We crossed the mountain through what we should call a gap, an extremely narrow defile. When at the summit, we descried a beautiful valley below, about six miles long and three broad, running down to the sea, hemmed in by mountains on the other sides, but which presented innumerable clearings, and small patches of cultivation, without any visible habitations; these were probably constructed of reeds, and hid among the trees. The valley had been laid waste by the Spaniards, and all the cocoa trees cut down. The soil is good the whole distance to the village, and the road bordered by huts very slightly constructed.

We found Arismendi a small man, rather taciturn, but

... spect him a[nd] undaunted. H[is] entertai[n]ment was very far beyond any thing I could have exp[e]cted at this [p]lace; several of the officers waited on the guests, and [they] appeared to take pleasure in addressing each other in the [Fr]ench style of *citizen.* To[a]sts were drank, ac[com]panied with ... discharges of artillery. Our ho[rs]es having been turned out, we found ourselves compell[ed] to remain here all night. A ball was got up, but not in the most refined taste. Early the next morning we took leave of Arismendi, and returned on board the Congress.

The island contains a population of twenty thousand souls, who are chiefly peasantry, who subsist by cultivating small spots of ground. As we passed along in the cool of the morning, we saw a number at work in these miniature fields. Their general dress is cotton pantaloons and shirt, of their own manufacture. The island is strongly fortified; redoubts and forts are constructed on every [he]ight, near which the enemy would have to pass.

The [n]ews of the victory of Maipu, which we brought, pro[d]uced great rejoicing, and we afterwards learned, had important effects on the confederacy of Venezuela, and even through the viceroyalty of New Grenada. Like the shock of a tremendous earthquake, it will be felt throughout the continent.

Before I venture to give a sketch of the events of the r[ev]olution in this quarter, I shall make some observa[t]ions on its geography and the character of the inhabitants. [Th]e captain-generalship of Caracas and the vicero[ya]lty of New Grenada, have been even more intimatel[y c]onnected in their struggle against the Spanish po[w]er than La Plata and Chili. The progress of the contest in the one has constantly reacted on the other; [n]either, or both must be independent of the kings of Spain. With some shades of difference in the character

of the people, their feelings and opinions in relation to the cause in which they are engaged, are the same. Even in those districts where the revolution at first made the slowest progress, and which have been almost continually under the influence of the Spaniards, revolutionary principles have been silently but rapidly working their way. If the Canadians on our continent had not been of a different race, and repelled by their antipathies to the *Bostonais*, there is little doubt but that they would have joined us in the contest with Great Britain.

The captain generalship of Venezuela or Caracas is composed of the provinces of Venezuela, Maracaibo, Varinas, Guiana, and the island of Margaretta. The coast from the province of Santa Martha of New Grenada, down to the mouths of the Oronoko (which are as numerous as those of the Nile or Mississippi) is in general bold and in some places mountainous. The rivers which discharge themselves into the Caribbean sea along this coast are generally inconsiderable, on account of a ridge of mountains which branches off from the Cordillera of Santa Martha, passes round the celebrated lake of Maracaibo and there runs with the coast at the distance of forty or fifty miles. The valley of Caracas is formed by this mountain and the river Tuy, which waters it, flows along the ridge of the coast for some distance before it finds a passage to the sea. Between the two ridges of mountains just mentioned, the land is elevated, like those of Peru, though on a smaller scale, and of a less elevation, but sufficient to afford a perpetual spring within the tropics. There are other elevated portions in various parts of the captain generalship, affording the same temperature, while the plains of the south towards the Oronoko are excessively hot. The rivers which flow to the interior, and which are tributary to the Apure, or other western branches of the Oronoko, pass over a

... more extensive country than those of the coasts, and are of greater magnitude. The main trunk of the great river just mentioned, on examining the map, will be seen to hold a course for several hundred miles from west to east, enclosing a parallelogram with the coast, the main branches of the Apure rising in the neighbourhood of the lake of Maracaibo. This track is about five hundred miles long by two hundred in breadth, and with the exception of the province of Guiana, which lies on the south side of the Oronoko, it comprises all the provinces of the captain generalship; but the province of Guiana is at least a third greater in magnitude than all the rest put together, although it may be regarded as an uninhabited and even unexplored wilderness.* Venezuela has two remarkable natural boundaries; the mouths of the Oronoko on the east, and the lake of Maracaibo on the west; on this side it is also separated by high mountains extremely difficult to cross, from the viceroyalty of New Grenada.

To the south Venezuela is traversed in its breadth by the tributaries of the Apure and Oronoko, as has been stated; but the surface of the track of country, for more than four hundred miles in length, and one hundred and fifty in width, is a plain almost as level as the pampas of La Plata, and in some respect resembling them; but in general essentially different. The streams which water this track of country, take their rise either in

* It borders on the Portuguese, English, Dutch, and French possessions. This vast region is known under the name of New Andalusia, and is unquestionably one of the finest portions of Spanish America. Few countries are more delightfully watered, and being in part composed of extensive plains and high mountains, possesses every variety of climate.

the ridge which runs along with the coast, or in the mountains in the vicinity of Lake Maracaibo, and, during the seasons of rains, which in this climate are prodigious, they pass over the banks and inundate the adjacent plains to a great distance. There are also numerous channels of cross communication, in consequence of which, in the rainy season, the surface of the country presents the appearance of a vast inland sea, and the courses of rivers are only marked by the tops of the forest trees on their borders. During the other portion of the year the streams shrink within their channels, leaving immense plains which are soon covered with luxuriant herbage, and sustain numerous herds of cattle, until the approach of the dry season, when the grass is burnt up by the heat of the sun, the water evaporated, the plains present the appearance of naked deserts, and the cattle perish by thousands for want of food and water. Such is the country which has been the principal theatre of war between the Spanish General Morillo, and the patriots under Bolivar, since the capture of Angostura. Their campaigns have been constantly interrupted by the return of the rainy season, and during the period favourable to their military operations, the nature of the country and the climate are such as render it almost impossible for European constitutions to withstand the privations and fatigues to which they must unavoidably be exposed. These causes both operate in favour of the natives; delay occasioned by the interruption in their campaigns enables them to increase in strength, while the force of Spain grows weaker, and from habit, the sultry heats of the plains, to which they are accustomed, like Arabs, can be better withstood than by their enemies.

From the nature of the track already described, extending across the Apure into New Grenada on the south, opposes a natural barrier to the communication

with the op... districts of that viceroyalty; for even when not covered with water, it is a vast and almost trackless desert, interspersed with morasses and marshes extremely difficult to pass. Our enterprising countryman MACAULEY, was one of the first to cross from Calabozo to Santa Fee de Bogota, where he commenced his short but brilliant career in the cause of South American emancipation.* The greater part of the country which stretches from the left bank of the Oronoko, is composed of immense plains, subject to inundation. The inhabitants resemble those of Banda Oriental or La Plata, and the subjugation of these herdsmen in their widely expanded wastes, will be equally difficult. They are possessed of prodigious bodily strength, and, like those of the south, are capable of sustaining extraordinary fatigue, contrary to the opinion usually entertained of the inhabitants of warm climates. They will, in fact, bear almost with indifference what exposes the European soldier to the severest sufferings. Although their habits are in general indolent and slothful, they can suddenly pass from this state to one of the most vigourous energy; like the furious boar of their plains, so finely described by Humboldt, which basks its listless length in the sun, until excited by the sight of its prey, when it instantly displays a power of motion truly terrific.

The population of Venezuela has been estimated at eight

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* The recent march of Bolivar, as a military achievement, has never been surpassed. He set off at the commencement of the rainy season, when his antagonist, Morillo, expected that he retired into quarters. None but the troops of the country could ever have accomplished this undertaking; his men were for weeks literally to the waist in mud and water. Of the English troops which accompanied him, but a handful appear to have survived.

hundred thousand souls, but the devastating war which has been carried on, has diminished the number very much, especially in the provinces of Caracas, Cumana, and Guiana: but that of Margaritta has been increased by emigration from the union. The province of Maracaibo has suffered less than any, although it has been put under heavy requisitions by Morillo for the support of war; without the assistance he has drawn from this quarter and from New Grenada, it would have been impossible for him to have maintained the contest. The delightful valley of Caracas has been almost laid waste, and the beautiful plantations of cocoa, cotton, sugar, coffee, and indigo, formerly so celebrated, have been in a great measure destroyed: should the conquest terminate in favour of the royalists, great speculations will be made by the populace of these estates. The European Spaniards have greatly diminished in number in all those districts which have felt the storm of the revolution: many have perished, some have fled, and few have emigrated from Spain to supply their places; hence one of the most powerful of the Spanish auxiliaries has been destroyed. The course of the revolution has had a tendency to do away the prejudices and antipathies between certain casts, in parts of the country where they exist; but this is an evil much exaggerated by those who merely reason from what prevails in the West Indies.

The uncivilized Indians of the neighbouring mountains and plains have, in general, regarded the contest with indifference. The Indians of the plains in the rainy season pass from one point of high land to another in their canoes, and often remain many days in

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* These recourses are now cut off by the recent successes of Bolivar.

successic on the water; and the circumstance of their sleeping in hammocks, suspended between branches, has given rise to the story of their living in the tops of trees.

The kingdom of new Grenada is probably the most important Spanish feudatory in South America. It is equal in extent to the United States west of the Mississippi, and capable of containing a greater population. In most respects it resembles Peru, lying chiefly between the two Cordilleras, which begin near the sea coast in San la Martha, and which form the valley of the great river Magdalena, on which is situated Santa Fee de Bogota. This kingdom is probably one of the most diversified in its surface in the world; but its most remarkable characteristic is, its mountainous aspect. Excepting by the channel of the Magdalena, or by the way of Peru, there is no way in which an army can be sent by Spain to subdue its inhabitants in their inaccessible mountains. But for a series of causes of a most peculiar nature, Morillo, even with the assistance of the troops from Peru, and all the old Spaniards, then in the country, never could have put down the revolution as he did.

Intending hereafter to give a more detailed account of the situation of things in this quarter, I shall at present simply state the position of the military force. The commander-in-chief, Bolivar, as has already been stated, is master of New Grenada, and probably at this time of the province of Maracaibo, while Paez, on the opposite side, with his *terrible* cavalry, is constantly harassing him. In the army of Paez there is a corps of British troops, seven hundred strong, under Colonel Pigot, a brave and experienced officer. The army of the coast, under the command of General Bermudez, is composed of about the same number, and twelve hundred English troops, under

the command of General Urdinatta (formerly under Colonel English.) The legion of General Devereux will form a part of this army, when it arrives. These forces will probably march towards Caracas, as soon as the season of rains shall have ceased; and with the assistance of Bolivar from the opposite side, must, in all human probability, terminate the contest;—an event, for the sake of human nature, greatly to be desired.

APPENDIX.

A LETTER

ON

SOUTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS,

BY AN AMERICAN,

TO JAMES MONROE, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

> " More powerful each, as needful to the rest,
> And in proportion as it blesses, blest." POPE.

SIR—The discovery of America, the separation of the British colonies, and the present struggle for independence in the colonies of Spain, are three of the most interesting occurrences of the last thousand years. Columbus, in search of a passage which would change the track of eastern commerce, discovered a new world, possessing greater riches than the east, and capable of sustaining a population nearly equal to all the rest of the globe. Although disappointed in one object, he succeeded in opening sources of wealth to Europe, which have changed its condition for the better, in every department of life. The discovery of America enabled Europe to reach a point of improvement, which she could not otherwise have arrived at for centuries, if at all. Those who followed Columbus, with little or no scruple, appropriated to themselves whatever was found in the newly discovered countries, peace-

ably sometimes, but in most instances, by violence and cruelty. The inhabitants of America, in some districts numerous and far advanced in civilization, were regarded by the Spaniards with little more respect than the wild beasts of the forest. They were destroyed without pity, their possessions were seized without compunction, and all the principles of humanity and justice violated without remorse.

The superior skill of the Europeans in the arts, derived from the use of letters, which preserve the discoveries of the ingenious, and enable the human mind to advance towards perfection, necessarily placed the unfortunate Americans in the power of their invaders. The first discovery of America, and the subsequent encroachments, were alike the acts of enterprising individuals, although their respective sovereigns were careful to come in for the lion's share. As to those portions of America where vast regions lay waste, (for the possession as hunting grounds by a few wandering tribes, could scarcely be considered an appropriation of the soil,) the laws of God and nature might justify other members of the human family in taking a sufficient portion of the common inheritance, for their subsistence. This was the case with respect to the country now possessed by us, who, as the first of the colonies in forming an independent government, have become peculiarly entitled to the appellation of AMERICANS. Our conquests were principally over the asperities of the climate and the earth; the axe and the plough were the weapons with which they were effected. If the natives have been sufferers we are not to blame; the hunter cannot subsist by the side of the cultivator; the wild animals, which furnish him subsistence, fly the fixed habitations of man. As in the natural progressive stages of society, so in relative position or vicinity, there must be a separation between these two states of human existence. The hunter and the cultivator could not be neighbours; the hunter, therefore, retired, and our settlements advanced.

In other parts of the continent, the natives were far beyond the hunter state. Although unacquainted with letters, they were not barbarous. They had made no inconsiderable progress in the arts; they had their fixed seats or cities, vieing in population with those

of Europe or Asia. Their agricultural advancement was that of a civilized people, and they had learned, unfortunately for them, to bestow a factitious value upon those metals, which in the old world, were regarded as the representatives of wealth, and used as the medium of commerce. Such was the situation of Mexico, Peru, and of Santa Fee de Bogota. These unhappy people were assailed by the Spaniards with a barbarous cupidity. The assailants were a few audacious and lawless persons ; but they received the approbation of the sovereign, who came in when all was quieted, for the larger share of the spoil. The sovereign took possession of these countries by RIGHT OF CONQUEST, and even after the enterprising and industrious of his own subjects had formed settlements and built cities, the privilege of conquest was never renounced.

From the discovery until the present day, the sovereigns of Spain and their European subjects, had but one thing in view ; to draw the greatest possible advantage from the colonies, without regard to their prosperity. What sums have they not furnished to be spent abroad, or rather squandered in wars and in the extravagance of courts? Their advancements, farther than this object was answered, was regarded with indifference. Their misery and wretchedness would have been preferred, if by that means the rapacity of the oppressor would have been more fully gratified. They were, in fact, regarded as mere appendages, very useful and convenient, but forming no part of the body politic, and therefore incapable of communicating a single sensation.

The policy pursued by the different European states towards the colonies, received a tinge from their peculiar characters, unavoidably influenced by the peculiar situation and nature of the colony itself, keeping always in view the sole advantage of the European sovereignty, no matter how injurious it might be to the colony. The Spaniards, for instance, found some districts abundant in the precious metals, here every pursuit was discouraged, and even forbidden, not necessarily connected with the working of the mines. Here neither agriculture, manufactures, commerce, nor even considerable population was of much importance ; and when they attained a stinted growth, it was in despite of the general policy. The mine districts have been condemned at once to barrenness and

poverty, more through the policy of the sovereign than by nature. If permitted to profit by their rational advantages, they would prosper, even if the soil should be barren, by exchanging for things more necessary. But regarding solely the Spanish interests, these districts have been closed like caverns where the light of day is not seen.* And to what end is this? These riches must be transported abroad to gratify the idle debauchery of a court, and reluctantly to benefit the unshackled industry of neighbouring nations. This selfishness appeared in every thing; when the colonies could procure what was barely sufficient to exchange for the commodities which the crown permitted to be furnished them, by those of her subjects, or even the subjects of other nations, to whom she sold the privilege; all further advancement was deemed unnecessary and therefore checked, lest they might cease to want those articles, mostly of the first necessity, which the crown was desirous of supplying. Agriculture in some districts was permitted to grow to a certain extent; manufactures were every where forbidden, and in some places only tolerated from necessity; commerce was placed under such restrictions, as to enable it merely to wither. This is the reason why countries which have been settled so many hundred years, are still so thinly inhabited. What would have been the condition of South America at this moment, if her growth had not been checked by bonds and chains? Horses, cattle, and sheep, in South America, have increased without number, but with too much truth it might be said,

"Man is the only plant that dwindled there."

Not indeed in his mental faculties, but in numbers; for the aggregate population in Spanish America, has notoriously decreased.

The portions of Spanish America that have been cursed, or blessed, just as one may choose to consider it, with mines, is not

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* It may be a question, what right a nation, which enjoys a free intercourse with all others, has to preclude all others from a free egress into her territories?

such as to circumscribe their pursuits. The inhabitants in general, might gain their living by the cultivation of the soil, and the preparation of articles of commerce. But unhappily, they are cultivators without a market; and have fallen back into the shepherd life, the second stage of civilization. To countries on which nature has showered her choicest gifts, it is not surprising that thousands of European Spaniards should be enticed, and it is natural to suppose, that population without some check would rapidly increase. To hold out encouragement to emigration was unnecessary; Spain, without fear of crippling her colonies, could impose such burthens as would at the same time, retard their progress and procure a present supply. These burthens were to be increased with the growth of the colonies. This might be practised with a foresight of the future strength of the colonies, and the fear of their revolt. Most probably it proceeded from her insatiate avarice.

Jealousy, which has generally been regarded as the characteristic of the Spaniard, had some share in imposing the restrictions, and establishing the exclusion from the rest of the world, which has converted the country of the Spanish colonist into a prison, guarded with as much vigilance as the seraglio of an eastern despot. Foreigners have been excluded from intercourse with the colonies, for the same reason that every species of industry and enterprise on their part was forbidden, wherever there was an opportunity on the part of the crown to sell a privilege, or turn pedlar itself, and supply the subject at the most extortionate prices.* We shall be asked of what use would colonies be without these advantages? I ask in turn, what men, possessed of sufficient strength, would submit to be colonists on such terms? It is not surprising that the British colonies, so much later in their establishment, and in a soil and climate so inferior, should have so far outstripped those of Spain.

The British colonies were established under more happy aus-

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* The numerous royal monopolies, tobacco, salt, quicksilver, playing cards, &c. are well known.

pices. The spirit of liberty had been fostered by several important occurrences. The human mind had been unchained by the reformation; and the frequent resistance to the exertion of absolute power in the sovereign, had produced such an acknowledgment of many of the essential rights of man, in such a permanent form, as to be easily appealed to. Numerous safeguards of liberty had been established. The colonists carried with them the seeds of liberty which they transplanted in a more congenial soil, where they could grow up without being overshadowed by kings and nobles. THE COLONISTS WERE THE FREEST OF THE FREE. The habit of reducing rights to a permanent and tangible record, had given rise to the various charters under which the different colonies were established.* They were permitted to overcome the first difficulties, inseparable from their situation, with little or no assistance; the Indian nations who opposed their settlements, were subdued; the lands were cultivated, and cities began to rise on the shores of the Atlantic. The colonial trade, in a short time, gave employment to thousands of Englishmen, and a valuable market was soon opened for British manufactures. Here, with little or no expense to England, a vast treasure of wealth was displayed to her enterprise and industry. The colonies increased rapidly in consequence of their partaking of the freedom which was in some measure peculiar to Great Britain; it was not long, however, before these advantages on the part of Britain were abused; the colonists were disgusted with the disposition manifested by her, to consult only her own momentary interests, and they were continually insulted by the insolence of the court favourites sent over to enrich themselves at their expense; and this, in countries where there was no distinction of ranks in society; where the pretensions of birth were but little known; where there was no gentry entitled by hereditary right to reverence and worship. We constituted the true elements of republicanism. Fortunately for us, Great Britain had delayed the exercise of arbitrary power until

* We could not be said to be contending to gain our liberties—we were already free. The South Americans in their country, are endeavouring to rise from a state of degradation to one of freedom.

o[illegible]r ancestors had begun to feel their strength. Two millions of free[illegible]nen, after a long and arduous struggle against one of the most powerful states of the old world, were at last acknowledged an independent nation. Our population, our wealth, our strength, have increased with a rapidit[illegible] unexampled. We have becom[illegible] ten times more important even to [illegible]he nation which endeavoure[illegible] to chain us down, in spite of all the [illegible]rts which her folly has pr[illegible]sed to excite our enmity; *to the whole world we are becoming each day more useful, and even necessary.*

If our independence was an event of such magnitude, so universally interesting, what must be that of the whole continent—the whole of the new world! In us the birth of a nation was hailed, by the rest of mankind, with joy—we are now about to behold the birth of empires. Eighteen millions of souls are now struggling to be free; forming no compact and continued settlement, but separated into four or five vast compartments, and thinly [illegible]istributed over large districts—unable to co-operate in [illegible] their great distance from each other, and the intervening desarts and mountains, yet uniting in heart to shake off the European [illegible]. We behold the inhabitants of regions, which for centuries have furnished the wealth to stimulate the industry not only of Europe and America, but even of Asia, about to take their mighty destinies into their own hands; about to give a full developement to their resources; to establish governments, and most proba[illegible]ly on the best and wisest models, to form a chain of confederacies, united by a thousand communities, not of family [illegible] useful intercourse; in fine, TO PREPARE THE [illegible]AY FOR THE MOST SPLENDID REVOLUTION THAT HAS EVER BEEN WITNESSED ON THE EARTH. Mighty must be that revolution which will be effected by nearly half the habitable world, when suffer[illegible]d without restraint to unfo[illegible]d its resources and augment its po[illegible]ulation. Nations do not flourish most in solitary existence and seclusio[illegible]; it is their c[illegible]ntinued intercourse and commerce w[illegible] each other, which c[illegible]il[illegible]es mankind, and lays open the fields of enterprise and indus[illegible]y. What nation could be blotted out from the map without injury to all that would remain? It[illegible] bread to thousands, [illegible]ay, [illegible]e life to [illegible]housands, who but for this, would

never have existed. How interesting then to all the world, is the birth of the American empires, whose commerce will soon add incalculably to the fund upon which the industry of nations may [illegible] A scene more magnificent never "burst on the eye of philosophy." Can any one for a moment doubt, that under the government of Spain these events can never take place? With one of the finest countries in Europe, if deprived of the colonies, and compelled merely to use the advantages in her future intercourse with them, that Great Britain has with the United States, she may yet be regenerated and become more wealthy and respectable than she could ever be with all the gold and silver of America, bestowed upon her idleness and sloth. The discovery of America has already produced wonderful effects, but when we compare these effects with the stupendous consequences that must follow its independence, they seem as nothing. No one can contemplate the future state of America, without having his mind filled with the most magnificent ideas, and the most sublime conceptions. The dawn of that glory which the discovery of America will shed upon the world, is but just beginning to appear. HITHERTO IT HAS BEEN A DISCOVERY LOCKED UP.

The separation of the American colonies, has been regarded by men of foresight, as an event that in the course of time would happen, in spite of every precaution to prevent it. There is nothing more natural than to suppose, that when the vast tracks of country on this side of the Atlantic, should obtain a population suited to their [illegible] so far surpass that of the European state, the latter would become the mere satellite. The colonies could not be persuaded to remain the subordinate and inferior, when the old state had fallen into comparative insignificance. Let us suppose all the nations of Europe, removed from Spain three thousand miles, and held by her in colonial subjection? The very suggestion of the idea exhibits its absurdity. When James I. united the crown of Scotland to that of England, some expressed an apprehension that England would become a province; the very reverse of which was the natural consequence. In politics, as in astronomy, it [illegible] nature, that the smaller bodies must revolve around the larger. The moment the colony exceeds the old state

in numbers, and is, at the same time, equal in spirit and intelligence, the latter must necessarily take the place before occupied by the colony, or a separation ensues.

There is another reason for this tendency to separation. The colony and the ancient state, must in time become distinct nations; the diversity of habits and occupations, arising from the climate and the nature of the countries which they occupy, and considerable changes in the language and manners of both, would soon produce essential distinctions. Added to these, the offensive arrogance of the European, who fancies himself a superior being, as coming immediately from the original and purer fountain of the race, regarding with contempt the degenerate natives; who, in turn, naturally feel indignation at the self-sufficient insolence and arrogance of the stranger. Of this, we had no little experience in our own country. Before the revolutionary war, every Englishman thought himself entitled to allegiance from every American, and the natural deviation from English [illegible] was considered a proof of degeneracy. This very readily accounts for much of that unfriendly feeling, which has prevailed between this country and England, and which to superficial observers, appeared unnatural. If the mere circumstance of living in a di[illegible] country, and adopting different habits, will in a few years [illegible] about so great a difference, how much greater must it be where there is an actual difference of race? In the United States we have numbers from all the various nations of Europe; in South America it is true, the colonists were more generally from the colonizing state, but the difference was more than made up by the numbers of the civilized Indians, who still formed a great proportion of the population; and these in time became intermixed with the European Spaniards, and their descendants, thus forming a distinct people. The natives of the country could without difficulty intermingle, and have common feeling with these their countrymen; while the Europeans, who could not form any [illegible] portion of the whole, would be looked upon as strangers, as foreigners, at least, until they had been long settled in the colony, had families, and became identified or amalgamated. The more the colony increased in numbers, and the longer it continued a

colony, the farther would it be remov[ed] in point of feeling fro[m] the ancient state; the weaker, therefore, the ties to that s[tat]e, and the greater the difficulty of retaining it in subjection. When the habit, the charm, or magic, of dependence was once broken, the anci[e]nt state would be regarded in the [s]ame light as any other foreign pow[er], and its attempts to brin[g b]ack the colonies to subjection, con[si]dered in the same light, as t[h]e invasion of any other enemy. Hence it is, that the nations of North and South America, have become PATRIOTS, defenders of their native soil; while Spain is acting the part of an invader, and amuses herself with the belief, that she is endeavouring to quell the insurrection of a neighbouring province, in which there still remains the latent feelings of affections, like those of a disobedient child towards its parent. Spain is not engaged in reducing the revolt of Arragon or Catalonia, *but she is carrying on a war against a distant nation, or nations, with the greatest possible disadvantage.* Nothing can exceed the f[olly of s]u[ch] an attempt. For even if she should be successful for the present, can she produce a chan[g]e in their minds? [She mi]ght as well think of making war on the elements. THE [TIME] WILL COME WHEN THEY MUST BE FREE.

[It is] very evident, that the Spanish colonies had long ago be[come a] different people from the European Spaniards, and as the natural consequence, mutual dislikes and jealousies would be cherishe[d]. They must have long since felt that they were a people held [in] subjectio[n]. They could naturally ask, "How long does Spain mean to consider us as appendages to her monarchy, as slaves fastened to t[h]e wheels of her chariot, to swell her vanity and pomp? Are we to be colonies for ever? Must we renounce all hope, that we may lay claim to some of the honours of our beloved n[a]tive soil? That we may be permitted to improve and ornament [t]he birth-place of our ancestors, our own homes, the only c[o]untry [w]hich possesses our affections, the abode of our friends and [relation]s? Are we to be restricted in all our [e]nterprises, by strangers, who come to us as it were from a[n]ot[h]er planet, who have no ties amongst us, and are indifferent to t[h]e pro[s]perity and improvement of our country? Shall we t[ame]ly submit to these task-ma[sters], who will not permi[t] us to u[se] our own, and who

ca y away the frui s of our industry, we know not whither?" The only answer that could be made by the oppressor, would be short and simple—"I have the power." This is d . The madness, the pride, the obstinacy of Spain are not yet satisfied, *but th world is satisfied, that a peop who can defend themselves fo ten years, will be able to defe s for ever.*

The policy of Spain necessarily tended to create and to perpetuate this deep-rooted enmity. Its government would soon be considered as an odious usurpation. The most pleasing subject of the thoughts and conversation of the colonists, would be their liberation from this political bondage. They would look to the day, which would bring about this much desired event, with something like religious devotion. There is nothing more natural than the prevalence of such wishes. Even in extensive monarchies, which have the advantage of contiguity, or which have but slight separations, there is a constant tendenc to fall by their own weight. In Cicero's orations against Verres, we have a fine picture of the thousand impositions to which the remote provinces must necessarily be subject; what endless vexations are occasioned by the almost irresponsible viceroys, governors, and sub-agents, sent to govern, or rather to rob and plunder! Nothing can remedy the want of a centre of power, an original fountain of authority of their own. A country thus separated, without a government of its own, is a world without a sun. The distance from the metropolis renders it impossible to have feelings in commor wit it, or but few. No empire, therefore, of ex territory, and particularly when separated by oceans, can be of long duration, unless divided into separate states, each possessing its own centre of power, to which the sympathy, passions, and interests of the people are attracted.

Besides, being thus separated from the metropolis, rendering it impossible for the people of America to have this community of feelings with the Europeans, and enabling the imported governors and dignitaries, to practice their abuses with impunity, that separation was cause by an ocean of a thousand leagues. By placing America at such a istance from Europe, it is that nature never intended th its vast districts should be set ap t for planta-

tions, or appendages to petty European states. The king of Br..zil ..ted wisely in transporting his court and government to his ..merican possessions, ... converting the ancient seat of empire into a prov...e; those possessions had grown too considerable, to remain as d..tinct colonies; and althou.. his form of government is not such as we should prefer to ... prevail in America, it is yet m..ch better than the colonial states. He must, however, hasten to identify his interests with those of America—he must cease to be European—he must escape from the trammels of European politics, or he will find his position an uneasy one. The royal family of Spain would have acted wisely for its own interests, in transporting itself to Mexico, and even George III. might have retained his American colonies, and by this time HAVE BEEN MASTER OF THE NEW WORLD, had he transferred his crown from the island of Great Britain to the American continent.

Spain has been ...l aware of this disposition or tendency to separation on the part of the colonies, and to establish governments of their own. She knew that the colonial state was a forced one, and too unnatural to be of long duration. She had had every where frequent indications of the dispositions of the people, which she could not mistake. They were gradually becoming ripe for a separation, in spite of all the precautions she could devise, to retard this so much dreaded state. An event, however, in whic.. ..e took some share, (actuated no doubt by the desire of ..ein.. freed from her ambitious neighbours, the English) served, con..ary ... ...tations, to hasten this maturity. This was the successful emancipation of the United States. To avoid one evil, she encouraged another even more pernicious. Her colonies could not behold without uneasiness, the full enjoyment of the blessings of self-government and of free constitution, in adjoining colonies. The ...prisoned are tor..ented b.. the desire to escape, as much by t..e natural love of liberty, as by the ..ght of others in the possession of it. The precautions of Spa..n for the preservation of her colonies, were increased, and their d..ssatisfaction increased in the same proportion. All the pai.. which were taken to preven.. ... ...duction of liberal princip... into her colonies ..ere vain; the importation of goods may ..e pro..ibited, but

houghts will find their way like the rays of light; it is as useless to forbid the spreading of knowledge, as to forbid the sun to shine. The true principles of liberty have now gon[illegible] ...; they can never be re-consigned to the tomb of secrecy. The *art of printing* must in time effect the *liberty of the press*, and where that prevails, despotism must [illegible]. These principles shook Europe to its centre, and although restrained at length in some measure, they are still silently working their way. They found their way at last, to the more natural climes of Southern America; and we have seen that in America these principles have been invariably connected with the establishment of independence. *Formerly a revolution indicated little more than a change of masters; it now means the establishment of free government.* The unexampled prosperity of the United States, the knowledge of which could not be concealed from the colonists, furnished the aliment to keep alive the fire which had been thus lighted up—their triumph over all their enemies—their conquest over all their difficulties at last, must render this fire unextinguishable. The daring enterprise and the intelligence of our citizens, who continually found their way into the Spanish colonies, in spite of all the guards which the most watchful jealousy could establish, gave rise to reflections in the colonists, which had not before entered their minds to conceive. For twenty-five years before the revolutions in South America took place, there was a slow, but progressive state of preparation for this momentous occurrence. [illegible], therefore, a mistake to suppose, that the separation of the colonies [illegible] pro-duced by an unpremeditated and accidental event—a sudden and passing storm, which would soon be over—it was, in fact, the natural consummation of what had been long and gradually preparing—hastened by unexpected events, but not occasioned by them.

There is nothing which tends so much to check the sympathy, we should be disposed to give the South Americans, in their present interesting struggle, as the prevailing idea that they are totally unfit for self government; a character which we bestow, without discrimination to all, although there is by no means an uniformity in the moral state of the different colonies. [illegible]

topic, of which their enemies have availed themselves, unfortunately, with great success. They are represented without distinction or exception, [illegible] state of extreme ignorance and debasement, (a state, by the by, which ought to cover the Spaniard with shame,) without information, and without morals, lazy, inconstant, worthless, at the same time violent, jealous and cruel; composed of heterogeneous casts, likely to be split into separate factions, and if left to themselves, to exterminate each other, like the soldiers of Cadmus. In fact, no pains have been spared to represent them in the most hateful and disgusting colours, and there are many of us, who now take it for granted that they are the most despicable of the human race.

Let us for a moment inquire by whom this indiscriminate character is bestowed? It is given either by their bitterest enemies, or by those who are unacquainted with them, or whose opportunities have enabled them to see them only in the most unfavourable light. Persons who have never seen a Southern American are in the habit of condemning them all by the wholesale, as stupid, depraved, and worthless. Notwithstanding all this, if we consult the enlightened travellers, who have visited those countries, we shall find that they concur in bearing testimony of their native intelligence, of their amiable character, and of their anxious desire to improve the condition of the country. And is it for us to repeat, or believe, the malevolent slanders of their enemies? We should recollect the character, which until lately, was charitably given to us throughout Europe, [illegible] should hesitate before we condemn a people, whom we have had no opportunity of correctly estimating. Until the American revolution, it was a fashionable opinion, extremely agreeable to European vanity, that man degenerated in the new world, and if not continually renewed by European intelligence, would [illegible] of losing the faculty of reason! How long since this slander has been refuted? There are countries where it is believed even now; yet the enlightened, who knew that the true dignity of human character does not depend upon climate or soil, but on the liberty and freedom of government, [illegible] necessary as the sun and air to plants, foretold what we should become, when left [illegible] selves. "Why is it," asked an eloquent orator, "that the

slave looks quietly on the [illegible] where Leonidas expired? The nature of man has not changed, but Sparta has lost the government, which her liberty could not survive."

Man is every where a noble and lofty being, and if the burthen which bows him to the earth be removed, if the slavish bands, in which he is fastened are burst, he will suddenly rise with ease to the natural standard of [illegible] character.

> "Tis liberty alone, that gives the flower
> Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume,
> And we are weeds without it."

Our enemies in Europe are still in the habit, in spite of the proofs we have given, both in peace and war, of representing us as degenerate, at least as incapable of any thing great. These things we know to be the slander of malevolence and envy, repeated by ignorance and prejudice; may we not in charity suppose, that all we have heard of the Southern Americans is not true?

The standing topic of our enemies during our eventful struggle for independence, was our supposed incapacity for self-government. They represented us as being, in general, an uninformed people, our distance from the metropolis, from the sun of knowledge, rendering it impossible for us to know any thing, or, of making a good use of our independence, even if it were possible for us to gain it. They proclaimed us restless and factious, and declared us about to fall into a state of horrible anarchy, or from intestine divisions, to become a prey to the ambition of military chiefs. Nothing of all this happened, or was likely to happen. It is lamentable to see the proneness of the human mind to form opinions without data or experience; or to form general theories from a few unconnected facts. It is a source of a thousand vexations in politics, in science, in morals, and in philosophy. It is this bigotry of opinion, which forms the greatest barrier to the [illegible] of the human mind. The ignorant and the arrogant will ever believe *that what they do not know to exist, does not exist.* I was once asked by a foreigner, why no books of original composition were ever published in this country? For this simple reason, I replied, because you have not read them. We pronounce upon the character of

the South Americans, we de[illegible] t[illegible] deficien in [illegible] those qualities which we most prize, not because we know them, but because we do not. It is thus that the vain and contemptible African or Asi[illegible]reign, pronounces the Europe[illegible]n to be an inferior race—in a st te of ignorance and barbarity.

The character which we bestow upon our brethren of the south, would do injustice to the most uncivili[illegible] [illegible] dians. That information is as general among them, as amongst the people of this country, no one, I presume, will pretend; yet, have we made no progress since the American revolution? Let this question be answered. Three generations of freemen have arisen since that period, and each has undergone some improvement. I would ask among whom began our resistance to Great Britain, by whom was it carried on and directed? Certainly by the intelligent part of the community who guided the uninformed, addressing themselves to passions, which belong to nature, not to education alone, and inculcating ideas, which had not before suggested themselves, to those who are not in the habit of reading and thinking. Compare the state of general information and public spirit at that time with the present, and it will be found that the balance will be as much in favour of the present, as it is in favour of the actual state of our population, wealth and public improvements. We had many well educated men, especially in the different professions; we had a numerous class in the middle walk of life, possessing a moderate share of wealth, [illegible] with sufficient leisure and opportunity, to [illegible] re enough of information to understand, and place a proper val[illegible] upon [illegible] rights, and to appreciate the advantages of a separation from Great Britain. Has it ever been pretended, that such a population is no where to be found in South America? I am far from pretending, that the great mass of its population is as well prepared as ours, but let it be recollected, that we established [illegible] once [illegible] only a free gove[illegible]nment, but the freest that had ever been kn[illegible]n in the world, it does not follow, that because the Southern Americans cannot establish a government within many degrees as free as ours, that they are, therefore, incapable of any thing bu[illegible] absolute despotism.

It wo[illegible] not be difficult to prove, that th[illegible]e are some strong

features of resemblance in the southern population to our own, and which have an equal tendency to qualify them for free government. The means of acquiring affluence, for [illegible], were sufficient to raise up in every village or district, families sufficiently at ease in their circumstances, to acquire some information, and to maintain a respectable character. The Americans were every where more locomotive, and consequently more thoughtful. In the south they had their professional men as we had, who were necessarily enlightened, and were attached to the soil by the ties of birth and by family connections, and yet could aspire to no public offices or honours. The native priesthood were, with hardly an exception, excluded from the dignities of the church, which were usually bestowed on foreigners. The secular priests, so far from being inimical to the cause of independence, have been its most active supporters, and what is more, the advocates of the most *liberal principles.* The fact is, that these native priests are the sons of the most respectable families, and in most instances, have little more in reality than the name. In some parts, they are the leaders of their armies, their partisan officers, and engage with zeal in disseminating political information. These men have, in fact, been long brooding over the emancipation of their country, and many, it is highly probable, have been induced to put on the gown, in order the more effectually to conceal their studies. I have been acquainted with several gentlemen, who informed me, that long before the present struggle in South America, he was surprised at the liberality of their sentiments, and at the extraordinary avidity with which they gathered up every thing relating to our country.

Although incredible pains were taken by the Spanish government to shut out from the colonies all information, and whatever might tend to liberalize the mind, proscribing every book which might possibly disclose to the Southern Americans the [illegible] *secret that they were men*; yet it was utterly impossible to exclude every species of learning, some branches were even encouraged, in order to divert the attention from more dangerous studies; they had their colleges and seminaries of learning in the principal cities and towns, as well as schools for teaching the first elements; while the sons of many of the more wealthy, as w[illegible]

the case in our own count y, were se... ab...ad. In a philc.ophical point of view, there is nothing so vain as this attempt t force the thoug... int... particular channel like a stream of water. The reading of any b k ...an do little more than set the mind in motion, and when we once begin to think, who but the Divinity can set bounds to our thoughts? The reading of the edict forbidding a book to be read, might give rise to a train of thought infinitely more dangerous than the book itself.

In Southern America, as well as in the North, subsistence was easily obtained; and from the thinness of the population, men were worth much more than in the thickly settled, starving countries of Europe. There was little or no hereditary nobility to look down upon them, and habituate them to feel an inferiority; such nobility as were in the country, sprigs from old rotten Spanish stocks, were regarded as exotics ill adapted to the climate and soil. In general each one was the fabricator of his own fortune. The only real distinctio of rank was that of superior wealth, talents, or office. The exotic nobility who aspired to something mo e, were no better than strangers, often contemptible in themselves, and secretly despised by all classes of the natives. I do not see that I risk much in boldly asserting, that our southern brethern, taken collectively, were better fitted for liberty, Switzerland excepted, than any part of Europe. The cultivators and shepherds of America are a bold, igorous, manly race of men, and from the very nature of their empl... ...ntemplative. While the European Spaniards were sinking into indolence, and losing the manly spirit of independence which formerly placed them above all their neighbours, and which would still shew itself under a different government, that spirit was cherished and improving in the colonies; all that is now wanting is to direct it to a noble purpose. The agricultural p... f the population, was more free and gained a more easy sub.iste... than their European brethren; an advantage which it wa. not in the power of Spain to deprive them of. The merchants and mechanics of towns, in like manner, from the greater facility of living, had more time for reflection than persons in the sa ne class in countries that are crowd d It is in the nature o ...ngs, that there should be more gen... al equality among

the natives of the Spanish colonies, than in European countries. Persons there were, it is true, who possessed very large estates, but these were of their own acquiring, or of their immediate ancestors. One of the richest individuals in New Spain. I have been informed, was a few years ago a mule-driver. We should fall into the greatest errors, if we formed our opinion of the essential moral state of the colony, by the European state from which it sprang. There are characteristics which run through all the colonies of whatsoever nation they may be, and an opinion, much more accurate may be formed of their character by an attentive examination of our own, than by taking the old state, or idle speculation, or the slanders of enemies, as the guide.

The specimens of southern Americans we have had in this country, within a few years past, are surely not such as to justify the opinions which many of us entertain of the character and capacity of these people. The countries which can produce such men as Clementi, Gual, Palacio, and Mayer, surely are not sunk in brutish ignorance, or incapable of rational self-government. These we have heard to breathe sentiments of manly independence, and of exalted patriotism, which until now were thought to belong only to Greece or Rome. With shame have I heard these men complain that we regarded all their countrymen as sunk below the rest of their species—that we were entirely unacquainted even with the geography of South America, and that many of us treat their cause with a cont[illegible] indifference! I blush for the vanity and selfishness of my countrymen, who are unwilling to allow the common attributes of humanity to these generous men, who have offered their lives and fortunes to purchase freedom for their beloved native soil.

Happily for my fellow men, all the efforts of despots will not suffice to arrest the progress of the human mind in America. Spain has adopted a system, calculated to retard the general prosperity of her colonies, she has gratified her cupidity by the most reproachful exactions, yet the vast extent of the new world, and the facility of obtaining subsistence, rendered it impossible to exercise tyranny of a mere personal nature to any great degree. The American has always been a freeman, in spite of tyrannical mea-

sures which tended to retard the aggregate prosperity; the individual was free from the very nature of the country which he occupied. Let us not imitate the egotism of the British, who assert that they are the only people in the universe who can be free. Let us believe that freedom may be enjoyed in more than one form; Switzerland was free, the Italian republics were free, Holland was free, though each in a different form. Southern America, too, will be free, and there is reason to believe, will be free as we are. There is ample reason why we should be cautious, in pronouncing hastily, on the character of our brethren of the south. Has humanity no claim upon us? Is it more than fair, to allow the patriots at least an opportunity of proving whether they are, or are not, worthy of the glorious privilege of independence? What injury to the world can result from the experiment? Surely no state in which they can be placed, can be worse for the interests of mankind, for the cause of human nature, than a return to the withering grasp of Spain, resolved as she is, rather than not rule, to rule over ruined cities and deserted plains.

The character of old Spain herself, although at present sunk so low, I have already said, was formerly of a very opposite kind. We are wrong in supposing, that Spaniards are insensible to the charms of liberty, or that they are ignorant of the principles of free government. The Spanish history is full of the noblest traits of patriotism, from the age of Viriato down to that of Palafox. There are at the same time proofs of the resolution of the people, in opposing the despotic and tyrannical measures of princes. The conduct of the Cortez, and the provincial juntas, prove that they are not incapable of governing themselves in the most popular forms. The defence of the country in times of the greatest difficulty, was conducted by these assemblies in the most spirited manner, while the *legitimate* sovereign, instead of meditating like English Alfred, the means of regaining his kingdom, was busied in the occupation of a woman— a nun—in embroidering petticoats! *Liberty is not even yet extinct among the people of Spain.* The constitution, or form of government, established by them, contained all the finest features of those of England and the United States, while the colonies, at the same moment, breathed sentiments still

more free. The friends of humanity entertained hopes that Spain, under a limited monarchy, would assume her former station in Europe; but these hopes were disappointed by the treacherous ingratitude, and bigotry of the miserable creature who now usurps the throne: a throne which he had before renounced, and which was restored to him by his subjects, on conditions that he has basely violated.

The cabildos have always existed in the Spanish monarchy; they are popular assemblies, which place no inconsiderable share of the government in the hands of the subject, and have accustomed them to feel themselves something more than cyphers in the state. From the necessity of the thing, these popular assemblies, or councils, were more in use in the colonies than in Old Spain; which circumstance, taken in conjunction with the greater degree of personal freedom and independence in the colonies, on account of their remoteness, must have rendered the people of a very different cast from the slaves of an absolute despotism. It is not so difficult a thing to be free, as some would lead us to believe; it is the natural condition of man—he is forever struggling to return to the state for which he is destined by nature. On the other hand, slavery is a forced and artificial condition, which can only be maintained by binding the mind and body with vile chains. What is there in nature to prevent the patriots, after freeing themselves of the foreign despotism put over them *from establishing in time*, mild and wholesome governments? They cannot want information with respect to the true principles of such government; they live in an age sufficiently enlightened on this subject; there is to be found both precept and example; they will have nothing more to do, than to choose what may suit them. Their intercourse with the English and with ourselves, cannot fail to aid them in forming correct opinions on political matters. They may, like us, adopt the free principles of the English government, without the scaffolding which hides and deforms the building; they will not be likely to establish a monarchy from the want of genuine royal blood; for their best families, as with us, can trace their ancestry but little beyond the flood.

It is not always safe to reason from what has been, to what will

be. If some parts of the old world have failed in the establishment of free government, this may arise from a thousand causes which cannot operate in the new world; and here moreover, there may be a thousand causes favourable to free government, which are no where else to be found. A sapient English writer asserted that we could establish no permanent government, because we had no lords or royal family, that we must therefore fall into a state of anarchy; for without government, said he, man can no more live than a fish without water to swim in: "admitting it as a fact," replied our venerable Franklin, "that we shall not be able to establish governments of any kind, the consequence would not follow in America, whatever it might be in England; the Indians have no government, in the proper sense of the word; many of our remote settlements are without government, excepting such as the majority submits to, by a tacit consent; the colonists, in general, as respects their internal concerns, live under governments that have not the weight of a feather compared to those of Europe." In fact, it is a matter of astonishment to Europeans, on their arrival in this country, to find it entirely destitute of government, for that which they can neither see nor feel, they presume not to exist; and yet I would ask, do they not find themselves equally secure? This state of things arises from circumstances peculiar to the colonies of America, and common to them all—circumstances which have operated much more powerfully than our great wisdom, or the magic of the principles first derived from Britain, and purified in America.

There are facts which speak loudly in favour of the intentions of the South Americans. In all the colonies in which the standard of independence has been raised, a formal appeal has been made to the civilized world, setting forth the causes by which they were actuated. These public declarations are couched in terms similar to our own act of the same kind, and evidently dictated by the same spirit. Their proclamations, their political writings, are such as we might safely own in this country. There cannot have failed to have reached the minds of the young and ardent; and those who are growing up, will cherish them through life. I have been told by a gentleman who has frequently questioned the boys

of the most common class, "what are you?"—"a patriot;"—"why are you patriot?"—"because I will defend my country against invaders, because I do not like that my country should be governed by strangers, and because I wish to be free."—The establishment of newspapers has invariably followed the expulsion of the Spanish authorities; the enlightened and liberal political dissertations with which these papers are filled, furnish sufficient refutation of the slanders of their enemies. Correct notions on political subjects are, it is true, confined to a smaller number, than they were amongst us at the commencement of our political struggle; but the desire to free themselves from foreign power, has as completely taken possession of the great mass of the people. Our constitutions are translated and distributed every where, as well as our best revolutionary writings. Two young lawyers were expressly employed for this purpose, by the government of Venezuela, and sent to Philadelphia, where they executed many translations. It would certainly be very strange, if, in this long protracted struggle, a struggle calculated to rouse all the dormant faculties and energies of man, no advancement should have been made in political knowledge. I will mention another fact, which furnishes additional presumption in favour of the patriots, and which at the same time, cannot but be grateful to every American bosom; it is the spontaneous affection and esteem, uniformly and on all occasions, manifested towards the citizens and government of these states. The Americans are hailed as brothers, they are admired, they are received with unbounded confidence; the succes and prosperity of the United States is their continued theme, and it is the topic which keeps alive their resolution, in their most gloomy and trying moments. How easy would it be to secure, for ever, the friendship of a people so disposed? We know not how much depends on us in shaping the character of nations destined to act so important a part in the affairs of the world? Any considerable changes for the better, in the governments of Europe, are for the present, hopeless, and cannot be effected but by slow degrees; moreover, it is not wise policy in us, to concern ourselves about them; but it will be inexcusable to remain indifferent as to the nature of the governments of our American neighbours.* The

value of a house depends not a little upon the neighbourhood in which it stands; our situation may be better or worse, from the character of those who adjoin us—surrounded, fortunately for us, we cannot be. The patriots, are well aware, that the individual Americans entertain the most ardent wishes for their success, but they complain that our government is cold towards them, as if ashamed to own them—they are unable to assign the reason why, in a republic, the government should be indifferent, and the people animated by the most anxious interest.

In contrasting the efforts of these people to throw off the Spanish yoke, with our own efforts, and with those of other nations, we shall find on this score, there will be no reason to despise them. How long, for instance, did Spain struggle to free herself from the Moors? How long did the Swiss contend in their almost inaccessible mountains, before they could earn the glorious privilege of having a government of their own? Holland contended forty years against Spain, through a thousand vicissitudes of fortune. To conciliate the different courts of Europe, she repeatedly offered to receive a king from any of them, although none was weak enough to believe her serious. There are many things in the history of our struggle, of which we have not much reason to be proud. We had many difficulties to encounter amongst ourselves; out of a population of two millions and an half, it was with the greatest difficulty we could raise inconsiderable armies, while their supplies were always deficient. A contest, which, if we had united, if the vigorous had fought, if the rich had furnished means, if all had persevered with constancy and firmness, to act their parts, would soon have terminated, was protracted for seven years, and with the aid of two powerful nations. We ought to make some allowance for the South Americans. The incidents of our revolutionary war, do not authorize us to speak with contempt of the efforts of a people, who labour under a thousand disadvantages which did not necessarily belong to our situation. The contest in South America has already lasted ten years, with a variety of success, but its general progress has been retarded in the same manner as ours, by the prospect of reconciliation. Before the formation of the constitution, by which the colonies were placed on an

equal fng with Spain, the patriots were every where successful; by this they were lulled into dangerous security, until they found that instead of a ratification of this instrument, which had been the means of restoring Ferdinand to his throne, the ungrateful monarch suddenly threw all his disposable troops into different portions of the continent, and directed all his efforts to reduce them to absolute subjection. He pursued a system of cruelty and extermination, unparalleled in the history of the world; the monsters who perpetrated these atrocities, will be held up in the darkest page of the bloody and monkish reign of Ferdinand. It is not surprising that the patriots should have experienced reverse, it is not surprising that in the midst of these scenes of horrid carnage, they should not have had time to establish every where, well ordered governments. But we find that they are again regaining the ascendancy, even where the Spaniards appeared at first to carry every thing before them. Notwithstanding the fabrications of the enemies of the patriots, stubborn facts prove to us, that they are in the full tide of success. In the vast provinces of Grenada, Venezuela, and Guyana, the royalists have little more than a slight foothold on the coast and in the cities; while all the interior, acknowledges no subjection, but is continually sending out parties of armed men, which, like our militia, cannot be long retained in a body, or may not be efficient in fronting a regular disciplined force, yet must ultimately destroy the enemy in detail. The contest in this part of South America, can scarcely be doubtful; a country more extensive than the old thirteen states, inhabited by two millions of people, scattered over its vast surface, cannot be subdued by a few thousand foreign troops. These in fact, perish on the sea coast, without daring to penetrate the interior, while the Spaniards would make us believe, that because they have taken possession of a few maritime towns, the country is therefore subdued. If the inconsiderable territory of Holland or Switzerland, could resist with success, why may not countries twenty times their extent, resists invaders who are compelled to traverse an ocean of three thousand miles? The conquest of such countries is a project of madness; Spain may send army after army of executioners to be destroyed, and the colonists will be every day

gathering fresh strength and resolution, while their det...ation of their enemies, is continually increasing. Is it possible that the colonies, after the dreadful barbarities committed by the Spaniards, can ever be their subjects ? There is no part of that country which has not borne testimony of the demoniac cruelty of the invaders ; these must ever be present to their memories. *Nothing short of total extermination of the people,* can ever place these countries again in the peaceable possession of Spain: this is the only hope remaining to her despicable fury. She exhibits at the same time the contemptible character of a mendicant for assistance to all the courts of Europe, tacitly acknowledging that without this, her colonies are lost ; she is going about like the wolf, with a bone in her throat, but who will take compassion on the hateful monster ?

The United Provinces of La Plata, as well as Chili and Peru, are already lost to Spain for ever. For seven years, the first of these has remained entirely unmolested, opening a free intercourse with all nations, and already beginning to feel the advantages of independence. So far from being in danger of the power of Spain, the Buenos Ayreans have been able to detach a sufficient force to assist their brethren and neighbours of Chili, and put an end to the Spanish power in that colony. Peru must soon follow the condition of Chili; the power of Spain once annihilated in this quarter can never be restored; she can only send troops round Cape Horn, an enterprise beyond her strength, or through the province of La Plata. Five millions of souls are therefore free; they have now an opportunity of enjoying that blessing so much desired by all nations, as well as by individuals, of directing their own course, of pursuing their happiness in their own way. May heaven guide them in the proper use of it, is my most ardent prayer!

The situation of Mexico, which, perhaps, more nearly concerns us, than any other part of the world, it is difficult precisely to ascertain. The nature of its coast, its want of ports, its secluded situation, enables the royalists to keep from us all correct information, as to the state of the interior. A thousand petty artifices and fabrications are used to impose upon the world in this instance, as well as in every thing which concerns the colonies.

The Spaniards are continually spreading ridiculous rumours of the entire submission of the country, of large armies arriving, and of measures taken by European allies. Has Spain yet succeeded in persuading the colonies, contrary to every wish of the human heart, contrary to the plainest dictates of reason, that it would be better for them to continue her abject slaves, than to follow their own inclinations, and be great and happy? Has she convinced them that slavery is better than freedom, that poverty is better than abundance, that to be ruled by another's will, is better than to pursue our own inclination, that to be robbed, is better than to be secured in our possessions, that to be shut up like felons, and denied all intercourse with other men, is the most agreeable condition of society? If she has succeeded in these things, we may then presume that her power is again established.

These idle fabrications are now well understood to form a part of the system to which Spain has been driven, and are, therefore, no longer believed. We have little or no information from Mexico that is not derived from Spanish authority, and therefore entirely unworthy of belief, excepting where it makes against themselves. According to their own account, all resistance in Mexico had ceased a year ago; and yet we find that they still continue to gain the most splendid victories. The probability is, that the contest still prevails, and that the Spaniards are growing every day more feeble. It is now nine months since General Mina landed with a handful of men; the first news we had of him from the Spaniards was his total annihilation; and yet it now appears that he has hastily fled into the very heart of a populous country, at the head of four times the number with which he landed, with the intention of joining General Vittoria, a chief, whose name has been heretofore concealed by the royalists! But an intercepted letter, written last November, by a bishop of Valladolid, describes the situation of the country to be such, as we could naturally expect. His letter expresses the most complete despair, mentions several leaders who are in considerable force, and speaks of the whole country as having thrown off all restraint of government, and living free from the controul of Spain, whose armies can do no more than escape from one town to another, losing many of their

numbers on the way. Torrents of blood have already been shed in the war of New Spain; its inhabitants, from the first, laboured under peculiar difficulties; the only arms which they could procure, were wrenched from the hands of their oppressors; they are still but badly armed and without discipline, although becoming every day more formidable.

Should the South American patriots succeed at last in compelling the Spanish invaders to cease their attempts—to suffer them to remain in quietness, what will be the probable result? Their enemies will of course say, that they will fall into dissentions and civil wars, and finally destroy each other. The same friendly foreboding was continually repeated respecting the United States; and as it has turned out to be false in this instance, why may it not be false also with respect to South America? It was said amongst other silly things, that the difference of habits in the northern and southern sections of this country, would produce hostility; "what!" exclaimed an American writer, "do you suppose that because the people of New England sell cod-fish, and the Virginians tobacco, that they must therefore fight?" What causes of difference can exist, for instance, between Mexico and New Grenada, or between them and the provinces south of the Amazon, or between the colonies east and west of the Cordilleras? The long narrow isthmus of Darien will always keep the two first at a distance from each other; the vast tracks of country from the Oronoko to the Plata, and the extensive dominions of Portugal, as large as Europe, which intervene, will form, if possible, a more complete separation. The Andes, not to be traversed at some seasons, and always a barrier more difficult to pass than the Pyrenees, if the inhabitants of either side do not choose to open the way, will enable the republics of the Pacific, at any time to shut out the armies of the Atlantic side.

In fact, the confused ideas which we have of the interior of South America, lead us into the strangest errors of opinion. The colonies of Spain now struggling for independence, are separated by nature into five distinct compartments, with much greater difficulties of intercourse than the United States with Mexico. This has been one great cause of their want of success. They are unable to co-operate or pursue a common plan. The provinces be-

yond the isthmus, could have no communications with Mexico, and they were separated by impassable deserts of several thousand miles from Buenos Ayres, and still more from Chili. The character of the population of these distant compartments is also very different; the great number of civilized Indians or mixed races in Mexico, is an important feature; the provinces on the other side of the isthmus, and along the maine, have a greater proportion of people of colour; while the inhabitants of the colonies on the side of the Brazils are composed, like ourselves, of the descendants of Europeans, chiefly, and on the Pacific, the population is of a kind still more homogeneous. We were continually in the habit of forming our opinions of American affairs, from the news we received from the contest in Grenada or Venezuela, which had nothing more to do with the contest on the Plata, and west of the Andes, than the war of India with that of Spain. It is in Grenada and Venezuela, that the war, carried on by the royalists and the patriots, has assumed that shocking and exterminating cast of which so many instances are recited. It was here that Spain directed her greatest efforts, it was here we are told the people are split and divided into factions among themselves, that they are fighting without concert or plan, under no common chief, and that they have yet established no regular government. It ought, however, to be considered, that this country had once been entirely in the possession of the patriots who had succeeded in establishing governments, which for two years went on with regularity, but when Spain was free to throw in her whole disposable force, their cities were taken and their leading men basely assassinated. Would not our own country have exhibited a similar picture, if our patriots had been compelled to fly beyond the Alleghanies, and all the leaders of our revolution treacherously seized and put to death? This was never the state of La Plata; Chili for a time was over-run, but she has again risen, and in close alliance with La Plata, may safely bid defianee to Spain.

It will be said, however, that it is not between these distant empires of Mexico, Granada, or La Plata, that dissensions are to be feared, but that in each particular province, factions, rivalries, contests for precedence, conflicting parties, will have place.

Such consequences, I admit, would probably be dangerous any where but in America. In Europe, if the nobility were not restrained, the rivalry of different houses would naturally terminate in civil wars; and if the nobility were put down, mobs would rise. But in America there are neither nobility nor mobs like those of Europe; every man in a thinly inhabited country, counts something; there are no lazzaroni, there are no miserable creatures, "who beg for leave to toil," there are no materials for mercenary troops and standing armies, and the inhabitants scattered over a vast surface of country, are not carried away by gusts of popular phrenzy, wrought up by the designing and ambitious. Ninety-nine out of an hundred of the European wars, have arisen from the intrigues and private feuds of families, and for causes in which the nation had no concern; and nearly all the mobs, or popular commotions, have been occasioned by the want of bread. There is nothing in which the wise politicians of Europe are so apt to err, as in their application of experience derived entirely from their own countries, to a state of things altogether different. It is not to be expected, however, that the emancipated colonies are to settle down into sober order, and to form regular governments without considerable fermentation. To ESTABLISH GOVERNMENTS IS NOT A MATTER EASILY EFFECTED UNDER THE MOST FAVOURABLE CIRCUMSTANCES; diversity of opinions, loud quarrels, and even partial recurrence to arms, are things to be expected. So great a work as that of the settling a form of government, cannot take place without considerable agitations. For twenty years after we became free, we were continually engaged in political dissentions, and Europe believed at one moment, that we were approaching the borders of despotism, and those of anarchy at another. Perhaps these very dissentions were proofs of political health. We have not been without our insurrections, our reign of terror, our plots to subvert the government, and our deportations. These things led people abroad to think that we were on the eve of dissolution, while in reality our government was gradually acquiring consistency, and our habits forming with it. Many things which were formerly subjects of dispute, are now perfectly plain. Our progress in information has been inconceivable; there are

more readers and thinkers on politics in the United States, than in all Europe, there is no American, no matter whether he resides in the remotest forest, or in the most obscure dell, who is not as regularly informed of every thing that passes in his own country and abroad, as a minister of state. I have not a doubt, that great advancement has been made in South America, since the commencement of their struggle; the mind which has been let loose, must have fa len upon those opinions and sentiments so congenial to the human heart. If this light has not yet penetrated the mass of society, it will in time, and in the meanwhile there will be sufficient numbers under its influence. The examples of the French revolution, will teach them many things they must avoid, and ours will shew both things to be avoided and which may be safely followed. The Americans every where are a sober reflecting people, mild and gentle in their manners, yet patient, courageous, and persevering. It is barely possible that the military chieftains, who now command the armies which oppose their invaders, should succeed in establishing some kind of limited monarchy, for despotism I consider impossible, where there is so large a portion of the well-informed; possibly a reason for the establishment of monarchy in Europe, but the reverse in America.

Under whatever forms of government the five American empires may be placed, their condition must be rapidly ameliorated. But should they happily imitate the wise policy of the United States, in opening a free trade with all nations, receiving and tolerating all foreigners, they must rapidly increase in population, and all their resources will be quickly brought into action. They will attract the ingenious and enterprising from every part of the world; a spring will be given to their industry; plains, now uninhabited, will be peopled; cities will rise, and improvements will be speedily effected throughout all the ramifications of society. The discovery of America will then indeed be complete. The United States, as being in the vicinity, will certainly be more permanently benefitted, but Europe in general, and more particularly England, will derive incalculable advantages. *The time will come when Europe will visit America for the double purpose of enjoying her vast commerce and of finding a passage to the east; America,*

will then be the centre of commercial attraction to the whole world. We shall then verify the poetic prediction of Bishop BERKELEY.

> "Westward the course of empire takes its way,
> The four first acts already past;
> A fifth shall close the drama with the day:
> Time's noblest offspring is the last."

This will be a mighty revolution, not brought about by wars, by violence, by injustice; but one, in which all will find an interest, and which will therefore be harmonious and peaceful. The alteration in the track of commerce to the east, has three times produced the most surprising changes in different parts of the globe; the isthmus of Darien, that unfortunate wall, which three hundred years ago arrested the noble ardour of Columbus, will yet give way, and open a short and direct passage to Hindostan and China. This great event may be long retarded by Spain, should Europe close her eyes to her true interests, and afford assistance to that rotten monarchy in the shocking work of putting back the colonies two centuries, by a system of extermination.

What would be the advantages to the United States from the independence of the Spanish colonies? I defy any one to point out a disadvantage. Have we not already found much benefit since the commencement of our revolution, from the vicinity of the Spanish provinces, notwithstanding the narrow, jealous, and restricted intercourse with them? And whence has this proceeded? From our commerce with them; from the market we found there for much of our surplus agricultural produce, and from the opportunity of taking their produce and selling it to other nations. Should we not then be gainers by the extension of this market? Let it be remembered that in the short period of twenty years, our population will, in all probability, amount to twenty millions; that manufactures will be much increased in the eastern section of the union; that our shipping will want employment, and that the increase in the demands of Europe, in all probability, will not keep pace with the increase in our surplus; we must look, then, for

some mo[...]nity in the mark[e]t and trade which will be afforded by FREE South America.

Our country is peculiarly well situated for maritime enterprise, our two thousand miles of Atlantic coast, are wonderfully penetrated with fine bays and inlets, and traversed by large rivers. We have already made the most surprising progress in maritime affairs; but since the peace in Europe, are not able to enter into a competition with Europeans in commerce, across the Atlantic; the West Indies and South America, are the proper fields for our commerce, and the more those fields are enlarged the better will it be. New Spain, unquestionably the finest part of the New World, and destined by nature to be the richest part of America, and even now containing five millions of souls, is without a single sea port, and can scarcely ever own a ship; her trade must therefore be carried on by us, who are her next door neighbours. This alone would indemnify us for the loss of our carrying trade. Our northern ship owners are much more nearly interested in their independence than they may imagine. As respects other parts of South America, we should at least enter into a fair competition with the English, and perhaps even possess considerable advantage from our vicinity.

There is another consideration deserving attention. There may be in many things, *a common American continental interest, in opposition to an European interest.* I am no advocate for the visionary idea of a great American congress on the isthmus, but there may exist an understanding, upon a variety of subjects of general concern. The weight and importance of each state, will be wonderfuly increased by this vicinage of independent states, even if there should be no alliance. The United States are at present, a single isolated power, and the monarchs across the Atlantic, are under no apprehensions that other nations will make a common cause with us, when our rights are [...]. Suppose, for example, the existence of several governments on this continent, entirely free from any connexion with Europe and co[mpletely] beyond her control—beyond the vortex of any of her primary interests—would the British, or any other government, in th[is case] have set at naught the rights of neutrals? No, she would have

placed too high a value on the good will of America to have sported with them so lightly.

It was for this reason that we were pleased with the establishment of an independent American sovereignty in the Brazils. We entertained hopes that this sovereignty, as American, would be friendly to us. We had reason to believe from the reception of our agents, that we should not be disappointed. It is our policy to be on good terms with that government, and we have assurances that a disposition prevails to be friendly.* It must now be the interest of the king of the Brazils to make his country flourish, and the sooner he gets rid of his European possessions the better. With respect to the insurrection at Pernambuco, we were led into an error, by confounding it with the struggle of the patriots, while their situation and their cause were, in fact, very different; whatever we may think of the *form*, the Brazilians had already obtained the great object for which the Americans are contending, *a government within themselves*; the affair of Pernambuco was the revolt of an adjoining province.

The independence of America from Europe, is the first great object to be attained. Compared to this, every consideration is of minor importance. The establishment of governments, founded on the most free and liberal principles, inasmuch as this must tend to our own happiness, the happiness of our fellow men, and the more rapid improvement of America, is certainly the next thing to be desired. The independence and freedom of this continent, are two things we should, as far as is practicable, consider as inseparable; yet if any part of South America should adopt forms not agreeable to our notions, it would be the height of arrogance on our part to decline their friendship, and ridiculous to make war upon them on that account. It would be highly offensive and insulting on our part, to dictate to any people the kind of government they ought [illegible]. True republican liberality forbids it.

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* This was certainly the case until the depredations committed on Portuguese commerce, by vessels notoriously fitted out from the American po[rts.]

I must co[illegible]ess, we are too m[illegible]ch in the habit of intermeddling with the interior co[illegible]erns of ot[illegible]r nations. Let us cherish our own [illegible]ons, but [illegible] do this with les[illegible] boastin[illegible]. In case o[illegible] he establishm[illegible]nt of governme[illegible] by the pa[illegible]iots o[illegible] principles s[illegible]ne-what liberal, we need not fear b[illegible] that both our own enterpri[illegible]ing an[illegible] intelligent countrymen, and the individual Englishmen, who visi[illegible] those countries, will give them useful hints on subjects of civil p[illegible]. They will have to do, principally, with the two nations to wh[illegible] the true principles of free government are best known in theory and practice. There is every reason to believe, that we shall unite in the most perfect harmony with the subjects of Great Britain, in effecting this noble work. I am under no apprehensions that my countrymen will be unable to enter into a fair competition with the English, who will, perhaps, reap the first crop from the independence of South America, while we shall [illegible]in a much more solid and permanent footing. [illegible] the patriots can more fully and safely confide, as entertaining wishes f[illegible] wel-fare very different from those of England; for, over and above the selfish motive of deriving advantage from their trad[illegible], we shall wish them prosperity for higher considerations, and which will be mutual. We shall, moreover, feel a pleasing sympathy, which others cannot know, from the contemplation of colonies engaged in a contest similar to the one of which we form ou[illegible] pride and boast. We wish them success, because they are e[illegible]deavouring to free themselves from Europe, because they are Ame[illegible]icans, and because their success and happiness will afford additional [illegible]ecurity to our own. We ought not to be jealous of th[illegible] English because they assist the patriots; we shall rejoice at it. The patriots are sufficiently aware that the English have a boundl[illegible]ss ambi[illegible] [illegible]at they are desirous of having possessions in every part of the globe; [illegible]hey know at the same time, that w[illegible] have no colonies, and nev[illegible]r will have any, that our on[illegible] ambition is [illegible] territory we already possess, [illegible] which we claim, and to enjoy a f[illegible] commerce with other parts of th[illegible] world. The charg[illegible] made against [illegible] of [illegible]tertaing ambitious views similar to th[illegible]se of European nations, is too ridiculous to deser[illegible] a refutation. W[illegible] have a fixed bou[illegible] given us by the consent of Europ[illegible] nations th[illegible]selves, bey[illegible]nd

which neither our wishes nor the n ture of our gover ment will permit us to stray. Wi hin that bo ndary we e ambitious to im ove the lands which at this time re ly ng aste, by which the wh e human fam ly wil be as muc benefited as ourse ves. Our war in Canada, was not a war for the sake of extending our territory, it was for our own safety, and for the sake of future pe ce. It is questionable whether we should accept it now, if offer d to us for nothing. And who is it that thus accuse us of ambitious designs? They are foxes and wolves who are preaching. This will not deceive the patriots in South America. They will confide in us.

The preponderance of the United States in the affairs of America, will be a natural one, and which can give no offence; it will arise from being the elder state, from having a more numerous, a m [illegible] a more active, and in general, a more enlightened popula n; from a greater disinterestedness, regard to justi , love of peace, THE UNITED STATES WILL BE THE NATURAL HEAD OF THE NEW WORLD. Having already a government well consolidated, proved, and settled down, holding a distinguished rank among nations, advancing with amazing rapidity, they must far outstrip any of the American empires. Mexico, it is true, may one day vie with us in some respects, but being necessarily mere inland state, her political weight must always be less than ou rs. It will be long before the Brazils, provinces of La Plata, Ne Grenada, Chili, and Peru, or other parts of South America, wh ch cannot coalesce, will be able to overtake us. In stretching the vision int futurity, we look in vain for those causes of war which continuall desolate Europe; if systems like our own be es [illegible] ed, where peace is the great end of all our wishes, where the happiness of society alone is consulted, and not the vanity of privileged families, we may liv a thou and ears without a quarrel. *If all the na [illegible] world [illegible] governed by the same principles that we are there would be an end to wars.*

The patriots have at this moment agents near some of the courts of Europe. We have b en told that they have made propositions incompatible with the very object the are struggling for. We sh uld be on [illegible] ard agai their enemies, who will be very busy

i.. circul ing stories to their disadvantage. It is natural that the patriot.. .. be .. of conciliati g the nations of Europe, at least prevail .. to emain neut al. I believe they h.. little to fe r; neither Europe n interest, no inclina on, nor hon ..r, leads them take part with S.. in th.. hellish work of e..ermi ation, carried on by this wretched monarchy. They know ll the disposition of this country; from us they have nothing to fear; it may be doubted how much French influence, or Englis.. influence, ther.. ..ght have been here, but *certainly there never was much Spanish influence.* It is therefore natural, that the patriots should be chiefly solicitous to render the European nations passive. I firmly believe that this will be the case; they all sincerely join with us in wishing the independence of South America; and whatever they might feel themselves bound to do for Spain, in case we took a part in the contest, they will certainly ..t be disposed to undertake the odious task of executioners .. ..thout .. ..ing of this kind to justify the interference. In my opinion they will not interfere under any circumstances; for surely wh.. ..nnot be the interests of any one singly, cannot be the interests of all conjointly; and it is not their interest to oppose the emancipation of America. But if not disposed to consent that we shall be directly instrumental in effecting its independence, they at least expect of us to acknowledge the independence of such as have fa..ly earned it. *It is very evident that we must be, and* SHOULD BE PROUD TO BE, *the first to acknowledge the independence of South America, or any part of it, whenever it may be achie.. now, or ten years hence.* It is probable, that some of the .. ..opean powers, having objects to answer, may sport w..h the credulity of Spain—the agents of Spain may whisper tha.. her cause is to be espoused by the great congress, but these tricks will deceive none but themselves.

In what condition a.. .. E.. ..powers ..render .. assistance? And if they are the .. do th.. .. .. WE BE IDLE? We can render mo.. assistance .. ..ts, than all Europe can render to Spain. The fact is, the E..r..ean sta..s are in no condition to render such assistance. A .. of myste.. ..s phrase has lately been intr..duced, .. the purpose .. ..ning our people,

with some indescribable danger—some " deed without a n[illegible]me."—It is said, our conduct is "[illegible]arrowly wat[illegible] [illegible]at " w[illegible] [illegible]gard-ed [illegible] " with no friendly ey[illegible]" that Eur[illegible]pe is [illegible] lo[illegible] of us."—How long [illegible] it since th[illegible] langua[illegible]e has been go[illegible] up? But a shor[illegible] [illegible]me since we w[illegible]re a " patch-w[illegible] r[illegible]public," a " heterogeneous jar[illegible]ng mass," co[illegible]ually on the point of falling to pieces in consequence of our politic[illegible]l dissentions, weak and despicable as a nation, and the[illegible]-fore [illegible]ry where to be insulted with impunity. Now it s[illegible]ms we are to be narrowly watched, we have become d[illegible]ous to Europe.—Ever running from one extreme into another, it appears that those who speak of us, are at all times equally removed form truth.—The former set of opinions respecting us, have all been found erroneous; we have shewn the world that we are not a mis-erable patch work, that we can be united, that our government has a sufficient energy [illegible]hen circumstances call for it, and that our politic[illegible] [illegible] ar[illegible] proofs of health, and not of disease; they now, therefore, ca[illegible] us the GREAT REPUBLIC, and pretend to think [illegible] becoming dangerous. Yes—a[illegible]d we are dan-gerous; but it is to those who make themselves our enemies, and do us wrong. *Lawless and unprincipled individuals will be found in every nation*, but the true character of the American govern-ment and people, is a scrupulous regard to the principles of jus-tice, and a lov[illegible] of honourable peace. What, for instance, would have been the [illegible]onduct of any of the powers of Europe, in our situa-tion, towards [illegible]pain for the last fifteen years? Would any of them have patie[illegible]tl[illegible] borne the aggressions and insults of that monarchy, when [illegible] the means of redress so completely in our power? What European go[illegible]ernment would have forborne to take posses-sion of the Fl[illegible]idas and the province of Texas, as we did? Had France or England been in our situation, the territories which we claim by the right of cession, and to which all but the Spaniards thems[illegible] [illegible]now [illegible] it that [illegible]atit[illegible] [illegible]ould have been taken possession of [illegible] g[illegible] East F[illegible] would hav[illegible] been seques-tered on the double grou[illegible] [illegible]llainous spoli[illegible]ions on our com-merce, and the c[illegible]nduct o[illegible] Sp[illegible]in in permitting our enemy to make [illegible] upon us f[illegible] it. Ha[illegible] been governed by the ambition of either of these nati[illegible] [illegible] should h[illegible]ve [illegible] [illegible]en thousand men into

Mexico, and supplied the patriots of that unhap[illegible] country with arms, and [illegible]us at o[illegible] have plucked the brightest gem from the Spanish crown—[illegible] should h[illegible]ve complete[illegible] the revolution in Gre-[illegible] [illegible]nezu[illegible], [illegible]nd [illegible]et free Per[illegible] and Chili, as well [illegible] La Plata. All this we had [illegible] our power to ef[illegible]ct, and I q[illegible]es-tio[illegible] much whether twenty years h[illegible]nce, we shall not repent of [illegible]v-ing [illegible]een too scrupulous, too desirous of maintaining a cha[illegible]r for j[illegible]stice and self-denial, among nations who disregard both. Far from co[illegible]ining, Spain ought to be thankful to us.

It seems, however, that Europe is now watching us. What have we to fear from Europe, or Europe from us, to occasion this watching? Neither can harbour the folly of an invasion, and in a maritime war we can do her more harm than she can do us.—Europe will not take our bread, our cotton, our tobacco! We in turn can refuse to take her cloths, silks, and wine; ar[illegible] who will be the gainer? It is said, that our republic furn[illegible] a *dangero[illegible] example of successful rebellion*, which must [illegible] down. If this indeed be the case, and Europe is about to send over a fleet [illegible]hou-sand sail, and three hundred thousand men, to put [illegible]n America, let us prepare for this mighty invasio[illegible]—[illegible]rive out Spain from the continent, and form a chain of confederacies with the patriots! Such notions are too visionary to be gravely advanced. There was a time, when even the sagacious Tall[illegible]yrand was of opinion that *any kind of war would shake us to p[illegible]es*, not fro[illegible] any violence from without, but from explosions amo[illegible]gst ourselves. That time is gone by. The eyes of the European governments are opened. They know well that their political insti[illegible]tions are founded on a state of things very different [illegible]xists in America; that the example of America may [illegible]ive rise to gradual ameliorations, but not to convulsions. They [illegible]now t[illegible] will find it much more to their advantage to trade with us peaceably, than to attempt the [illegible]ry project of invading us. There will still, however, [illegible]o[illegible] [illegible]rest [illegible] some be-clouded minds, [illegible] cherish a morbid and g[illegible]my pleasure, in con-templating spectres without shape o[illegible] f[illegible]m, wrapt up in mists and fogs. It is in vain to attempt to di[illegible]s[illegible] them of [illegible]se fear[illegible] prevent them from [illegible]arching in the path which ou[illegible]

point out—must we for ever cower at the name of Europe, as if she were capable of annihilating us with a breath? The last war ought to have taught us to know ourselves a little better. We are not a petty state on the borders of Europe, but a MIGHTY EMPIRE, placed at such a distance from other nations, as to render us even now, *the most independent and powerful nation on the globe.*

We are not an island capable of being overrun, we inhabit a vast continent—we are *not part froth and part dregs*, but ten millions of the most effective and intelligent people, taken as a body, in the world; devotedly fond of our country, and political institutions; united and enthusiastic in their support. There is, moreover, far less diversity in the manners, habits, and language of our people than is usually supposed abroad; we meet occasionally individuals of all nations, but there is a wonderful similarity in the natives of this extensive country. In America the foreigner melts almost immediately into the mass, while the jealous distinction of other countries keep him distinct. In England, or France, one meets a different description of people in every canton or county, but in travelling over all America we will find in the general population, little more than inconsiderable shades of difference, arising from local circumstances. We are unexhausted in our recourses, while Europe is bending under the weight of burthens; and the internal situations of France, England, and Spain are the most deplorable. They might with some reason fear us, if we were a lawless banditti like the first Romans; but happily for the world, we are not, and while our republican institutions remain pure and incorrupt, Europe will have nothing to fear from us; not even when our population shall amount to fifty millions, as it certainly will in the natural course of things, in half a century. We rose from the late war with England like a giant refreshed; our strength [illegible] at least [illegible]. What then have we to fear when our course is marked out by justice? Let us do what we believe in conscience to be right, and leave the consequences to Heaven.

It is as much the interest of England to aid the patriots as it is

ours. We ought not, therefore, to allow narrow jealousies to prevent us from concurring with them in the work of liberation. N[illegible]standing [illegible] intrigues of the English, we shall occ[illegible]y th[illegible] first place in the esteem and confidence of the patriots, and w[illegible] ought not to desire more th[illegible] an equal [illegible]ance of trading [illegible]ith th[illegible]m. If the English have rendered them essential servic[illegible] [illegible]is but just that they should be rewarded; it surely cannot be t[illegible] wish of an[illegible] [illegible]enerous American, that the English should be ex[illegible]uded. All that we ought to ask of the patriots is to be placed on an [illegible]qual footing. But on this important occasion, I should like to see, for the honor of my countrymen, something like disinterested generosity, and not a narrow selfish feeling. There is no doubt but that the patriots are chiefly indebted to the English, for the means with which they have been successful in throwi[illegible] off the Spanish yoke. It is indeed paying but a poor compl[illegible]ent to the pa[illegible]iots, to suppose that they are led by the no[illegible] the English merchants among them. The jealously with respect to the En[illegible]lish [illegible] this country is natural, it can be easily traced. It is [illegible] act mingling a topic of the politics of the United [illegible] with a question of infinite importance to the world, that ought t[illegible] be considered in the most liberal manner; before we can properly comprehend with the eye, a field so vast, we must rise above the little [illegible]ists and fogs that obscure the objects which lie below. The [illegible]ommon-place topics of newspaper politics should be cast aside.

It is equally wrong in us, to pretend to take side[illegible] in the political disputes which must occur in La Plata, as well [illegible] in other republics. I should think it a much more un[illegible] [illegible]ptom if there were no such disputes. We, however, can be no judges in the case, who is in the right or who is in the [illegible]rong, [illegible] the waut of opportunity of obtaining a perfect knowledge of the facts. But I am asked, "Have we not facts that are incapable of explanation, and which prove th[illegible] [illegible]ment of [illegible] [illegible]ere military despotism? [illegible] we not know of the depor[illegible]tion of the patriots of Buenos Ayres, and the treatment of C[illegible]era? Are not these facts which no one can defend? Has not [illegible] conduct [illegible]f Puerry[illegible] [illegible] that of a tyrant?" A[illegible]s! have we learned nothi[illegible], from [illegible]rience, have we so s[illegible]n forgo[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]ture [illegible] th[illegible] [illegible]cusati[illegible] [illegible]ght

against our own government both at home and abroad? If Puerrydon has been called a tyrant, Mr. Madison has been called a C[illegible]ula; if Puerrydon is said to be the [illegible] the Po[illegible], our republican administrations have been charged with acting in subserviency to Napoleon. Whence does this proceed but from ill will, and a partial view of facts? Let us try if we cannot *imagine* an explanation of the conduct of the supreme director.—Suppose a few, warm, zealous, enthusiastic men should sincerely and honestly believe that the director was about to sell their country, and listening more to passion than prudence, should form a plot to depose him by force—that the director informed of this, instead of bringing them to trial, should think it most advisable in the present state of things, to have them arrested and sent out of the country? Here is nothing improbable. I am far from insinuating that any thing of this kind has happened, I am only arguing to prove that we do not know what has happened. Without making any reflections on the unfortunate individuals who have excited our sympathy in this country, (and with several of whom I have had the pleasure of an acquaintance, and cheerfully bear testimony to their truly generous and patriotic sentiments,) it is possible that these men may have mistaken a desire on the part of Puerrydon to avoid war with the Portuguese, for a determination to betray their country. I regret much the injury which the nascent government of La Plata has sustained in our country, in consequence of this affair. Yet we have heard of nothing like insurrections or civil war in La Plata; on the contrary the last arrivals [illegible] accounts of the most admirable demonstrations of public feeling, in which all seem to unite. The affair even of Carrera [illegible] be explained. This patriot arrived at Buenos Ayres with the means of organizing a private expedition for the emancipation of his country, at the very moment when the forces of La Plata were [illegible] [illegible]plish the sa[illegible] and when it was highly necessary that all parties in Chili, should act in concert. At such a moment, it might have been deemed impolitic to permit an individual of such influence as Carrera, whose views were unknown and probably basely misrepresented, to interfere; per-

haps endanger the success of an undertaking so important.* At all events, it is not for us to decide in the hasty manner that many of us have done. Have we had no party broils among ourselves, that we should thus haughtily condemn? There is still the charge against Puerrydon of being at the head of a military despotism, or republic, as some have called it. I put it to the good sense of any one, in such a state of things, who is likely to be the military despot, the one who is at the head of the civil government, or the man who has the command of the army, who has dazzled the people by brilliant success, who is received in the different cities through which he passes, with triumphs and every demonstration of public admiration? *This man is* SAN MARTIN, *the liberator of Chili.* When to his good fortune and talents, he adds the character of a virtuous man, is it reasonable to suppose that he will not be looked to as the first man of the republic? What has been related to me of this man leads me almost to believe that South America, too, has her Washington. When SAN MARTIN restored Chili to liberty and independence, he was tendered the supreme dictatorship by the cabildo, but this he magnanimously declined, declaring that his business was completed, that he was about to leave them to form a government for themselves! To avoid the honors which were preparing for him at St. Jago, he stole out unobserved on his return to Buenos Ayres, but was overtaken by a deputation, requesting him, at least, to accept the sum of twenty thousand dollars, for the purpose of bearing his expenses. This he positively refused. On his approach to Buenos Ayres, every preparation was made by the inhabitants to receive him in the most distinguished manner; twenty thousand people waited on the road at which he was to enter! The Chilians in one of the first acts of their government, voted a sum of

* I learned, while at Buenos Ayres, that his *expedition* failed on account of a quarrel between him and the agent of the merchants by whom it was fitted out in the United States. He was *himself* not permitted to go to Chili, because it was justly feared that he would set to work to kindle up the former dissentions.

money to repay the republic of La Plata, the expense of the expedition, and then by consent of the latter took the army into their own service: San Martin returned to assume the command, and the manner in which he was received by the grateful inhabitants of Santiago, has been detailed in our newspapers. It was not unlike the reception given to our own Washington in Philadelphia. It is only in popular governments, that a real triumph can ever take place; it is only here that this genuine and highest of all earthly rewards, can await the virtuous and the brave.—The independent republic of La Plata and Chili, through San Martin, have, in all probability, by this time, given liberty and independence to their brethren of Peru.

Although the sentiment in favor of the patriots, through the United States, is almost universal, and seems to become each day more earnest, yet there are a few who pretend to advocate a cold indifference, and even speak of the patriots in the same terms that our enemies, during our revolutionary war, used to speak of us. The patriots are called rebels, insurgents, and we are gravely advised to hold them in contempt. I would ask how long is it since we have got up a little in the world, that we should thus look down upon our poor relations? Can we bestow epithets upon these men, without, at the same time, casting the severest reproach upon ourselves? No—they are now, as we once were, nobly contending against oppressors or invaders, in a cause sanctified by justice, in a cause more just than ours—for where we had *one* reason to complain, they have *ten thousand*.* This cold blooded indiffer-

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* I have refrained from entering into the question of the right of the colonies to declare themselves independent of Spain. Never was there a cause more easily supported. On the side of Spain there is nothing but lawless force. On an attentive examination of the English writers against our right to [illegible] ourselves independent of the [illegible] government, I find these things distinctly admitted by them as incontrovertible: That the relative condition of the colony to the colonizing state, is not the same as that of a mere province, partakes more of that of allies, and having distinct interests from the mother country, may lawfully throw off its authority, which a province, under no circumstances, can. "As the colonies were not conveyed to distant countries in order to be made slaves [illegible]

ence to the fate of our fellow men, is unworthy of us. We sympathised with the Spaniards, when lawlessly invaded by France, we sympathised with Russia, we now sympathise with France, and have we no feeling for our brethren of the South ?—Those who inculcate this apathy, tell us that since we are happy and contented, we ought to be indifferent to all the rest of the human race; if this sentiment is really serious, and not a mere concealment of enmity to the patriots, it is despicable, it is unworthy of any one who wears the form of man. According to these, a wise nation ought to stifle all the finer feelings of human nature, it ought to have no charity but for itself; base selfishness should be every thing; and generosity, patriotism, liberty, independence, empty and ridiculous words. Such sentiments may become the wretch

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to be subjected to the peevishness or oppression of the parent state, if they thought themselves exposed to such treatment, they might renounce their allegiance, claim independence, and apply to any foreign commonwealth for aid." These are the very words of one of the ablest and most strenuous advocates for Great Britain. It entered the head of no one at the time to argue that nothing would justify the revolt of the colony. Our declaration of independence begins with laying down principles which were universally agreed to as self evident. From the nature of the case, the colony must be permitted to judge whether it has been abused or not: it would be ridiculous to allow nothing more than an appeal to the oppressor. When all hope of redress has vanished, they may lawfully take up arms, and any nation, according to Vattel, may lawfully assist them, although it would not be lawful to assist a revolted province: the colony may "appeal to the world for the rectitude of its intentions." It would be insulting to any man of common sense to attempt to prove that the American colonies have not had ample cause of complaint. It has never been denied, Spain has never condescended to say more than that these are her subjects, her slaves, and that she has a right to oppress or murder them according to her pleasure. It is also admitted that when the parent state could not protect itself, but was obliged to abandon the colonies to themselves for a time, it could never regain its authority without the consent of the colonies. Never was there a more complete dereliction than that of the Spanish colonies for at least three years. The existing governments were every where mere usurpations, for the source from which their power was derived, had been dried up, and their responsibility had entirely ceased.

who will not spare from his superabundant store, a mite to prevent his neighbour from perishing; but there are but few Amercians, I believe, who harbor meanness like this. It does not f[illegible] that because these sentiments are indulged, we must become qui[illegible]tic, and involve ourselves in war, on account of mere religious or political opinions. I am no advocate of French fraternization, but I am [illegible]ot, therefore, to condemn every generous feeling that glows in the bosoms of those who wish well to the patriot cau[illegible]. I would wish to see our conquests, the conquests of reason and benevolence, and not of arms. There is nothing to forbid our feeling a generous sympathy with the patriots of South America; a contemptuous indifference on our part, would be regarded by them as reproachful to our national character, and would lay the foundation of lasting ha[illegible]red.

I[illegible] does not follow, however, that we should make a common cause with them, and go to war with Spain on their account; this migh[illegible] injur[illegible] us both. Although I should not fear the result, it might be more prudent to leave the colonies to contend with Spain, without in[illegible]ence, and I am convinced no European nation will interfere in her favor. This country has no reason to be afraid of a war, but at the same time none to desire it. Peace is our true policy, though not carried so far as to render our steps timid and cowardly. We ought not to be prevented from doing what may be agreeable to us, and to our interest, by apprehension of unjust and unlawful violence from the universe; we are now strong enough to pursue any just and reasonable deportment, as respects ourselves and others, without dread of consequences. What then ought we to do? I say at once, *to establish official relations with the [illegible]publics of La Plata and Chili.** No nation will have any just right to be offended with this. Our own practice, as well as the practice of every other country, considers the

* The *nature* of these relatio[illegible]s, must depend on circumstances. Our right to establish them arises from *our right to trade with them,* which we have distinctly ass[illegible]ed. It does not follow that we should send or receive a minis[illegible]r, consul or con[illegible]ls-gener[illegible]ls might be sent a[illegible] received.

existence of a government, *de facto*, as sufficient for all purposes of official communications. We never hesitated to establish relations with the revolutionary governments of France, neither did any of the European powers. In the great commonwealth of nations, each one has a right to choose the government or governments, with which to establish such relations; other nations have no more right to take offence at this, than one citizen has with another for the choice of his associate. The recognition of the republic of La Plata, does not imply that we must make war against Spain, or aid the republic in case it should be invaded. It is not inconsistent with the strictest neutrality; most certainly it is no act of hostility. There is not the least danger that Spain will seriously consider it a *cause of war;* she may bluster, *but she holds too deep a stake, to think of striking the first blow;* as long as she possesses colonies in America, if there is ever a war between us, it must commence on our side.

It is as respects ourselves that we should have any hesitation in acknowledging the independence of La Plata, and not because we should infringe any rights of Spain. There is nothing in the laws of nations to forbid it; and she can lay but poor claim to our friendship. The questions we should ask in this affair, are these: Are the republics just mentioned, of such a character as that we should let ourselves down by a treaty of amity with them? What is the extent of their territory, the number of their population, the nature of their governments? Are they capable of defending themselves? Is Spain in possession of any part of their territory? These, and other questions, might be put to satisfy ourselves, before we venture to take them by the hands as friends. This course will be found to accord perfectly with our principles and practice. What, for instance, was our conduct to Spain herself? Where there happens to be at the same time, in the same empire, two or more governments, we may treat with all, or any one, or none; but this is a matter which concerns only ourselves. To treat with all would subject us to great inconvenience, to treat with any one would have the appearance of partiality; for our own sake, therefore, the best course would be to acknowledge none of them. Thus, when the whole Spanish monarchy was actually split into

three parts, king Joseph on the throne, the cortez endeavouring to expel him, and the colonies setting up for themselves, our government declined acknowledging any of these parties. When the cortez prevailed, we received the minister of Ferdinand, and acknowledged the government, *de facto;* but we declined receiving the minister of the colonies for two reasons; first, because the contest was not yet properly at an end, therefore from motives of prudence, we could not think of forming a compact which might prove to be ineffectual; secondly, because the existing governments might not have been of such respectability as that we could place ourselves on a footing with them, consistently with the respect due to ourselves. But when these causes ceased, the reason for our not establishing relations would cease also, if we should regard them as not disreputable to us. The different provinces of South America have not made a common cause, and from their distance, it is impossible they could act together. Mexico, Grenada, Venezuela, La Plata, Chili, have all declared themselves, in the most formal manner, separate and independent governments; should any of them, therefore, succeed in expelling the Spanish authorities, and in establishing governments, *de facto,* in pursuance of our own practice and principles, we may venture to establish relations with them, provided we are satisfied that there is a sufficient character and stability to justify us in doing so consistently with prudence.

A revolted province, notoriously incapable of maintaining itself, ought not to be treated with, but an independent nation notoriously capable of maintaining itself, ought to be respected. Yet we have a right to receive and hear the mission even of a revolted province, without violating the laws of nations. What more common than for the revolted subjects, or the deposed prince of one nation, to fly to another and to be openly and publicly received? Who ever heard of a sovereign forbidding all nations from holding any intercourse with his revolted subjects, on pain of violating the laws of nations? The strictest neutrality is not violated by affording shelter and protection, much less by the exchange of civilities, or the establishment of official relations, for the convenience of commercial intercourse. Is all intercourse or relation forbidden, or some particular kind only? For instance, no one ever thought

that the mere trading with a revolted colony, or province, was an offence; *or that this would be good cause of capture*; and if it be lawful to trade, is it not lawful to establish such understanding with the temporary, or local authorities, as may be necessary for the regulation of such trade? May we not have resident agents for this purpose? May we not receive theirs in turn, and may we not, if we think it adviseable, enter into verbal or written stipulations to regulate this intercourse? Whether such agents should be called consuls, or ministers, or commissioners; whether they enter into stipulations or treaties of amity and commerce or not, is of no importance.

Are there any of the American republics with which we can with safety enter into official relations, or form treaties of amity and commerce? The United Provinces of La Plata are undoubtedly such. For seven years they have had complete and undisturbed possession of their country—no attempt has been made, or is likely to be made, to subdue them; and after this lapse of time, if Spain were to attempt it, she could be considered in no other light than that of an invader. We look only to the government *de facto*; the maxim of Spain, once a colony always a colony, is one which she must settle with the colonies as well as she can; for us it is enough that there is in La Plata a complete expulsion of the Spanish authorities, and an existing government. It will not be pretended by the most extravagant advocates of Spain, that because she has revolted colonies elsewhere, which she is trying to subdue, *that those whose subjugation she is too weak to attempt, must await the result of the contest.* According to this reasoning, while Spain continues to hold a single inch of land in America, the colonies must still be considered in a state of revolt.

Consistently, therefore, with the strictest neutrality, we may acknowledge La Plata, at least, as an independent state. By this simple act we will ensure to ourselves the lasting friendship of all the patriots of South America, whose feelings must be in unison with their brethren of La Plata. It will inspire confidence in all who are engaged in the contest; it will animate every patriot with a new zeal, it will bestow a respectability upon the cause in their own eyes, which will cheerfully unite all hearts in support of their

independence. Such was the feeling which the recognition of our independence produced. As THE NATURAL HEAD OF AMERICA, it will instantly increase our importance in the eyes of the world. Spain may be induced at last to put a stop to the horrid effusion of human blood, and renounce an undertaking in which SHE CAN NEVER PREVAIL. An understanding with the patriot governments of South America, will also enable us to make such arrangements, as may put a stop to many practices and abuses, in which our character as a nation is deeply interested.*

I have thus, sir, taken a rapid glance at a subject, highly important to the present and future interests of this country. In common with my fellow-citizens, I give my warmest wishes for the success of the patriot cause; but, at the same time, value too highly the *real happiness* of my country, to put it to hazard by rash and inconsiderate measures. Scarcely any period of our history ever called for a more wise and deliberate judgment and enlightened foresight, than the one now fast approaching. Happily for us there prevails at this juncture a degree of harmony among our citizens on political subjects, much greater than at any period since the establishment of our constitution, and we have a WISE AND UPRIGHT STATESMAN AT THE HELM. It was given to our immortal Washington to achieve the independence of one half of America, and I most sincerely hope, it may be yours to acknowledge the independence of the other.

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* The practice of fitting out vessels in our ports is here alluded to.

MANIFEST

DIRECTED TO ALL NATIONS,

BY THE GENERAL CONSTITUENT CONGRESS

OF THE

UNITED PROVINCES OF RIO DE LA PLATA.

HONOURABLE fame is the jewel which mortals prize above existence itself, and which it is their duty to defend above every earthly good, however great and valuable. The government of Spain has charged the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, before the nations of the world, with perfidy and rebellion, and has denounced as perfidious and rebellious, the memorable declaration of independence of the 9th of July, 1816, by the national congress of Tucuman; imputing to them ideas of anarchy, and intentions to introduce seditious principles into other nations, at the very moment of soliciting their friendship, and the recognition of this memorable act, in order to be ranked among them. The first among the most sacred duties of the national congress is to do away so foul an imputation, and to justify the cause of t[illegible] country, by publishing to the world the motives and the cruelties which im[illegible] declaration of independence. This is not a sub[illegible] sion which concedes to any o[illegible], the right to dispose of a condition purchased by Ameri[illegible] with to[illegible]ren[illegible] of blood, and every species of sacrifice and endu[illegible]nce. It is [illegible] duty of imperious obligation which it owes to its [illegible] ho[illegible]ur, and to the respect due to other nations.

We sh[illegible] waive all discussion w[illegible] respect to the right of c[illegible], papal grants, and other titles by which the Spaniards have supported th[illegible] unnecessary for [illegible] to [illegible]cur to principles which may give rise to [illegible] disputes, [illegible] to[illegible] found advocates. We appeal to facts, which form a lamentable contrast between the sufferings endured by us, and the tyranny of the Spaniards. We shall expose to view the frightful abyss, into which these provinces were about to be precipitated had not the wall of their emancipation been interposed. We shall give reasons, the soundness of which no rational being can question, unless it be his aim to persuade a nation to renounce for ever all idea of felicity, and adopt for its system, ruin, opprobrium, and shameful acquiescence. We shall exhibit this picture to the world, that no one may contemplate it, without being deeply affected w[illegible] the feelings that belong to ourselves.

From the moment the Spaniards took possession of these countries, they thought only of securing their power of exterminating and degrading. Their systems of devastation were immediately set on foot, and were continued without intermission for three hundred years. They began by assassinating the incas of Peru, and they afterwards practised the same upon the other chiefs who fell into their power. The inhabitants of the country, attempting to repel these ferocious invaders, became victims to fire and sword, by reason of the inferiority of their arms; while their cities and villages were consigned to the flames, every where applied without pity or discrimination.

The Spaniards then placed a barrier to the increase of the population of the country; they prohibited by vigorous laws the entrance of strangers into it, and in latter times they opened it to the immoral, and to convicts cast out of the peninsula. Neither the vast but beautiful deserts, formed here by exterminating the natives; nor the benefit which might accrue to Spain herself, by th[illegible] cu[illegible]tion of plains, fertile as they are extensive; [illegible] the existence of minerals, the richest and most abundant of the globe; nor the attraction of innumerable productions, so[illegible] [illegible] then unknown, others precious from their intrinsic value, and capable of animating industry, and enlivening commerce, carrying the one to its highest

[illegible], and the other to the [illegible] extent of opulence; nor, in fine, the unceasing exertions necessary to keep the fairest regions of the earth submerged in wretchedness, had sufficient [illegible] to change the [illegible] portentous policy of the court of Madrid. From one city to another of this country, there are hundreds of leagues lying waste and uninhabited. Entire nations have disappeared, buried under the ruins of mines, or perishing in an atmosphere poisoned with antimony, under the diabolical institution of the mitas. Neither the lamentations of all Peru, nor the energetic representations of the most zealous ministers, have been sufficient to put a stop to this relentless extermination.

The science of working mines, regarded with indifference and neglect, has remained without undergoing those improvements common to other nations in an enlightened age; thus rudely wrought, the richest have disappeared, either by [illegible] of excavated hills, or by the influx of water. Other rare and valuable productions of the country, have remained in the great storehouse of nature, without having excited the attention and zeal of the government; and if at any time an enlightened individual presumed to publish these advantages, he was sure to be reprehended by the court, and compelled to be silent, lest, possibly, a diminution of the demand for some of the productions of Spain might ensue.

It was forbidden to teach us the liberal sciences; we were only permitted to learn the Latin grammar, the philosophy of the schools, civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence. The viceroy Don Joaquin Pino, gave much offence by permitting a nautical school at Buenos Ayres, and in compliance with a mandate of the court, it was ordered to be shut; while at the same time it was strictly prohibited to send our youth to Paris for the purpose of studying the science of chemistry, in order to teach it on their return.

Commerce was ever a monopoly in the hands of the merchants of the peninsula, and of the consignees, sent by them to America. All public offices and employments belonged exclusively to Spaniards, and although Americans were equally called to them by the laws, they were appointed only in rare instances, and even then, not without satiating the cupidity of the court by enormous sums

of money; of o[illegible] hundred and s[illegible] vi[illegible]eroys that have gover[illegible]ed in this country, but four of them have been Americans; and of [illegible] and ten captains-general, and governors, all but fourteen have been Spaniards. The same took place in every other post of importance, and even amongst the common clerks of offices, it was rare to meet with Americans.

Every thing was disposed on the part of Spain, in America, to effect the degradation of her sons. It did not suit the policy of Spain that sages should rise up amongst us, fearful lest men of genius should bethink them of advancing the condition of their country, and of improving the morals, or the excellent capacities, with which its sons have been gifted by their Creator. It was her policy incessantly to diminish, and depress our population, lest, one day, we should imagine aught against her dominion, guarded by a force, [illegible]ble for regions so various and vast. Commerce was exclusively confined to herself, from a mean suspicion, that opulence would make us proud, and render us capable of aspiring to free ourselves from so many vexations. The growth of industry was checked, in order that the means of escaping from our wretchedness and poverty, might be denied us; and we were excluded from all participation in public employments, in order that the natives of the peninsula might have entire influence over the country, in order to form the inclinations and habits necessary for retaining us in a state of dependance that would neither permit us to think, nor to act, but in conformity to the modes dictated by the Spaniards.

This system was acted upon with the utmost rigor, by the viceroys: each of whom was invested with the authority of a vizier. Their power was sufficient to annihilate all those who dared to displease them; however great the vexations they practised, we had to bear them with patience, while these were compared by their satellites and worshippers to the effects of divine wrath. The complaints which were addressed to the throne, were either lost in the distance of many thousand leagues, o[illegible] which they had to pass, or they were smothered in the offices at Madrid, by the protectors of those who tyrannized over us. Not only was this system not softened, but there was no hope of its moderating in the

... of time. We had no voice, direct or indirect, in legislating for our country: this was done for us in Spain, without conceding to us the privilege of sending delegates, or counsellors, to be present, and ... what would be suitable or otherwise, as is practiced by the cities of Spain. Neither did we possess such influence in the government set over us, as might serve to temper the severity of its administration. We knew that there was no remedy for us but to bear with patience; and that for him who could not resign himself to every abuse, death was considered too light a punishment: for, in such cases, penalties have been invented of unheard of cruelty, and revolting to every sentiment of humanity.

Less enormous, and less pertinaciously persevered in, were the outrages which compelled Holland to take up arms, and to free herself from Spain; or those which induced Portugal to shake off the same yoke; or those which placed the Swiss under William Tell, in opposition to the emperor of Germany; or those which induced the United States of North America to resist the encroachments of Great Britain; or those of many other countries, which, without being separated by nature from their parent states, have separated themselves, in order to shake off an iron yoke, and to take into their own hands the care of their own felicity. We, however, separated by an immense ocean, inhabiting a country gifted with every variety of climate, possessing distinct wants, and treated like flocks and herds, have exhibited the singular example of patient endurance under such degradations: remaining obedient, even when the most seducing circumstances presented themselves for casting off the yoke, and driving the Spanish power to the other side of the ocean.

We address ourselves to the nations of the world, and to manifest so much effrontery, as to think of deceiving them in matters to which they have been witnesses, is impossible. America remained quiet during the whole war of the succession, and awaited the termination of the contest between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, in order to follow the fortunes of Spain. A favorable occasion then presented itself to free ourselves from so many vexations; but we did not seize it; on the contrary, we exerted ourselves in her defence, arming in her cause alone, and with a view

of maintaining our connexion with her. Without having any concern in her differences with European nations, we have embarked in her wars, we have suffered the devastation, we have borne without a murmur all the privations to which we were exposed by her nullity on the ocean, one of which was the interruption of the usual communication with her.

In the year 1806, our country was invaded: an English expedition surprised and captured Buenos Ayres the capital, through the imbecility of the viceroy, who, though without European troops, had numerous resources fully adequate, of which he knew not how to take advantage. We prayed assistance from the court to enable us to defend ourselves against a new expedition which threatened us, and the consolation we received was a royal mandate to defend ourselves as we could. The following year the eastern shore (Banda Oriental) was occupied by a new and more formidable expedition: the town of Monte Video was besieged, and taken by assault: here the British troops were augmented, and a powerful force prepared to make another attack on the capital, and in fact the attack was made a few months afterwards; happily the valour of our citizens triumphed over the enemy in the assault, compelling him, after a brilliant victory, to evacuate Monte Video, and the whole of the eastern shore.

A more favorable opportunity of rendering ourselves independent could not have been desired than that which now presented itself, if the spirit of rebellion or perfidy had been capable of moving us, or if we had been susceptible of those principles of anarchy and sedition imputed to us. At that time we had abundant cause for doing what we have since done. It was by no means our duty to be indifferent to the state of oppression under which we had so long groaned. If at any time victory authorizes the conqueror to be the arbiter of his own destinies, we might justly then have fixed ours; we were with arms in our hands, triumphant, and there was not a single Spanish regiment to oppose us; and if neither victory nor force can give right, our was still greater, no longer to tolerate the domination of Spain. We had nothing to apprehend from the forces of the peninsula, its ports were blockaded, and the seas commanded by the fleets of Britain. Notwithstanding the

favorable conjuncture thus presented to us by fortune, we choose to preserve our connexion with Spain, hoping by this distinguished proof of loyalty, to effect a change in the system of the court, and render it sensible of its true interest.

But we flattered ourselves with vain hopes. Spain did not regard this conduct as an evidence of the generosity of our dispositions, but as a bare act of duty. America still continued to be ruled with the same tyranny, and our sacrifices, though most heroic, had no other effect, than to add a few more pages to the history of that oppression under which we had so long groaned.

Such was the situation in which we were found by the revolution of Spain. We, who were habituated to yield a blind obedience to all her mandates, readily acknowledged Ferdinand the 7th of Bourbon, although raised to the throne by a tumult at Aranjuez, which deposed his father. We saw him soon after pass over into France; we saw him there detained with his parents, and brothers, and deprived of the crown which he had just usurped. We saw, that Spain, every where occupied by French troops, was shaken to her centre, and that in her civil convulsions, the most distinguished individuals, who governed with wisdom in the provinces, or served with honour in her armies, fell victims to the insensate fury of rivals. That in the midst of these vibrations, governments rose up in each of those provinces, styling themselves supreme, and claiming sovereign authority over America. A junta of this kind, formed at Seville, had the presumption to be the first to demand our obedience, and we were obliged by our viceroys to recognize and yield its submission. In less than two months, another, entitled the supreme junta of Gallicia, pretended to the same right, and sent us a viceroy, with the indecent menace, that thirty thousand men should also be sent if necessary. The junta central next erected itself; we immediately obeyed it, without having had the slightest share in its formation, zealously and efficaciously complying with all its decrees. We sent succours of money, voluntary donations and supplies of every kind, to prove that our fidelity would stand any trial to which it could be subjected.

We had been tempted by the agents of king Joseph Bonaparte, and great promises were held out to us of bettering our condition, should we unite ourselves with his interests. We knew that the Spaniards of greatest note had already declared for him; that the nation was without armies, and without the vigorous direction requisite in moments of so much difficulty. We were informed that the troops of Rio de la Plata, who were prisoners at London, after the first expedition of the English, had been conducted to Cadiz, and there treated with the greatest inhumanity, and that in want of every thing they had been sent off to fight against the French. Yet our situation continued unchanged until the Andalusias having been occupied by the French, and the junta central was dispersed.

Under these circumstances, there was published a paper, without date, and signed only by the archbishop of Laodicea, who had been president of the extinguished junta central. By this paper a regency was ordered to be formed, and three persons, as those who should compose it, were designated. An occurrence so unexpected, could not but cause us to hesitate and ponder over it seriously. Our situation became alarming, and we had reason to be apprehensive of being involved in the misfortunes of the capital. We reflected upon its uncertain and vibrating state; more especially as the French had already presented themselves before the gates of Cadiz and the island of Leon, we distrusted the new regents, who were unknown to us; the most distinguished Spaniards having passed over to the French, the junta central dissolved, its members denounced as traitors in the public papers. We saw the inefficacy of the decree published by the archbishop of Laodicea, and the insufficiency of his powers for the establishment of a regency; we knew not but that the French had taken possession of Cadiz, and completed the conquest of Spain in the interval which must elapse before those papers could come to our hands; and we doubted whether a government formed out of the fragments of the junta central, would not soon meet with the same fate. Considering the perils which surrounded us, we resolved to take upon ourselves the care of our own safety, until we should obtain better information of the true condition of Spain, and whether her govern-

ment had acquired stability. Instead of discovering this stability, we soon learned the fall of the regency, and saw it succeeded by continual changes of government, in moments the most arduous and critical.

In the meanwhile we formed our junta, in imitation of those of Spain. It was purely provisional, and in the name of our captive king. The viceroy Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros, despatched circulars to the provincial governors, in order to light up the flames of civil war, and arm provinces against provinces.

The Rio de la Plata was immediately blockaded by a squadron: the governor of Cordova immediately set about raising an army; the governor of Potosi and the president of Charcas, marched with another to the confines of Salta, and the president of Cusco presenting himself with a third army on the margin of the Desaguadero, entered into an armistice of forty days, and before its term had elapsed, recommenced hostilities, attacked our troops, and a bloody battle ensued, in which we lost fifteen hundred men. Memory is horror-struck in recalling the abominable cruelties then perpetrated by Goyeneche in Cochabamba. Would to God! it were possible to forget this ungrateful American, who, on the day of his entrance into the city, ordered the respectable governor-intendant, Antesana, to be shot; and observing with complacency, from the balcony of his house, this iniquitous assassination, ferociously cried out to his troops not to shoot the victim in the head, as it was wanted to be stuck upon a pike; and when it was severed from the body, the headless trunk was dragged through the streets, while at the same time the brutal soldiers were barbarously permitted to dispose at pleasure of the lives and property of the inhabitants during many successive days.

Posterity will be shocked by the ferocity manifested towards us by men, who ought to have been interested in the preservation of the Americans; and they will regard with astonishment the madness of attempting to punish as a crime an act marked with the indelible seal of fidelity and love. The name of Ferdinand of Bourbon preceded all the acts of the government, and headed its public documents. The Spanish flag waved on our vessels, and served to animate our soldiers. The provinces seeing themselves

reduced to a kind of orphanage by the dispersion of the national government, by the want of another of a legitimate character, and capable of commanding respect, and by the conquest of nearly the whole of the mother-country, had raised up for themselves an Argus to watch for their safety, and to preserve them entire, so that they might be restored to the captive king, in case he should regain his liberty. This measure was sanctioned by the example of Spain herself, and produced by her declaration, that America was an integral part of the monarchy, possessing equal rights, and which had already been practiced in Monte Video, at the instance of the Spaniards themselves. We offered to continue our pecuniary aids for the prosecution of the war, and a thousand times declared the uprightness and sincerity of our intentions. Great Britain, to which Spain was then so much indebted, interposed her mediation and good offices, to prevent our being treated in a manner so harsh and severe. But the Spaniards were fixed in their sanguinary caprice, rejected the mediation, and despatched rigorous orders to all their generals to prosecute the castigation of the Americans with redoubled activity; scaffolds were every where erected, and ingenuity was taxed for inventions to frighten and afflict.

From thenceforward, no pains were spared and no means left untried, to divide and engage us in mutual extermination. They have spread abroad the most atrocious calumnies against us, attributing to us the intention of renouncing our holy religion, and of encouraging an unbounded licentiousness of manners. They have made a religious war against us, contriving by a thousand ways to disturb and alarm the conscience; causing the Spanish bishops to publish ecclesiastical censures and excommunications, and to sow, through the means of some ignorant confessors, fanatical doctrines even in the penitential tribunal. By means of those religious discords, families have been divided against themselves; they have occasioned dissention between father and son: they have broken asunder the endearing ties which united husband and wife; they have sown rancour and hatred between the most affectionate brothers; they have, in fine, endeavoured to poison all the harmony of society.

They have adopted the dreadful system of putting men to death indiscriminately, for no other purpose than to diminish our numbers; and on entering our towns have been known to put to death even the unfortunate market-people, driving them into the public square in groups, and shooting them down with cold-blooded, wanton cruelty. The cities of Chuquisaca and Cochabamba have more than once been the theatres of this shocking barbarity.

They have compelled our soldiers, taken prisoners, to serve against their wills in the ranks of their armies, carrying the officers in irons to distant outposts, where it was impossible for them to preserve health for a single year, while others have been starved to death in dungeons, and many have been forced to labour on the public works. They have wantonly shot the bearers of flags of truce, and have committed the utmost horrors upon chiefs after their surrender, and other principal personages, notwithstanding the humanity that had been shown by us to those prisoners who fell into our hands; in proof of this assertion we need only mention the deputy Matos of Potosi, captain-general Pumacagua, general Angulo, and his brother, the commandant Munecas, and other partizan chiefs, shot in cold blood, many days after having surrendered as prisoners.

In the district of Valle Grande they indulged themselves in the brutal sport of cutting off the ears of the natives, and then transmitting a pannier full of them to head-quarters; they afterwards destroyed the town by fire; burnt about forty populous villages of Peru, and took a hellish pleasure in shutting up the inhabitants in their houses before setting them on fire, in order that their unhappy victims might be burnt alive.

They have not only shown themselves cruel and implacable, in murdering our countrymen, but they have thrown aside all regard to decency and morality, causing old men of the religious profession to be beaten in the public places; and even women, made fast to a cannon, but first stripped naked, and their bodies exposed to shame.

They have established an inquisitorial system for all these punishments; they have dragged out peaceful inhabitants from

their houses, and transported them across the ocean to be tried for pretended offences, and have executed without trial a multitude of citizens.

They have chased our vessels, sacked our coasts, murdered defenceless inhabitants, without sparing clergymen and those in extreme old age; by the order of General Pezuela, they burnt the town of Puno, and meeting with no others, they put to the sword old men, women, and children. They have excited atrocious conspiracies among the Spaniards residing in the midst of us, imposing upon us the painful necessity of condemning to capital punishment the heads of numerous families.

They have compelled our brothers and sons to take up arms against us, and forming armies by the impressment of the natives of Peru, have compelled them under the command of Spanish officers to fight against our troops. They have excited domestic insurrections, corrupting with money, and every species of seduction, the pacific inhabitants of the country, in order to involve us in a frightful anarchy, and to enable them to attack us weakened and divided. They have displayed a new invention of horror, in poisoning fountains and food, when beaten in La Paz by General Pinelo; and the mildness with which they were treated, when compelled to surrender at discretion, was rewarded by the barbarous act of blowing up the barracks, which had been previously mined for the purpose.

They have had the baseness to attempt to tamper with our governors and generals; and abusing the sacred privilege of flags of truce, they have repeatedly written letters inciting to treason. They have declared that the laws of war, recognized by civilized nations, ought not to be observed towards us, and with contemptuous indifference, replied to General Belgrano, that treaties could not be entered into, or kept, with insurgents.

Such had been the conduct of Spaniards towards us when Ferdinand of Bourbon was restored to the throne. We then believed that the termination of our troubles had at last arrived; it seemed to us that the king, who had been formed in adversity, would not be indifferent to the miseries of his people; we therefore dispatched a deputy to him, to make known our situation. We could not

doubt but that he would give us a reception worthy a benign prince, and that he would feel an interest in our supplications, as well from gratitude as from that beneficence, which the Spanish courtiers had praised to the skies. But a new, and before unknown ingratitude was reserved to be experienced by the countries of America, surpassing all example that the history of the worst of tyrants can present.

Scarcely had he returned to Madrid, when he without ceremony at once declared us insurgents. He disdained to listen to our complaints, or hearken to our supplications, tendering a pardon as the only favour he could offer. He confirmed in authority the viceroys, governors, and generals, who had perpetrated the bloody deeds before detailed. He declared as a crime of state, the having pretended to form a constitution for ourselves, that we might be placed beyond the reach of the capricious, arbitrary, and tyrannic power, to which we had been subjected for three centuries; a measure which could displease none but a prince, who is inimical to justice and beneficence, and consequently unworthy of ruling.

With the aid of his ministers, he at once set to work in collecting forces for the purpose of being sent against us. He caused numerous armies to be transported to this country, in order to complete the devastation, conflagrations, and robberies, so well begun. He availed himself of the moment when complimented by the principal European powers on his return from France, to engage them to deny us every succour, and to look on with indifference, while he was gratifying the cruelty of his nature in destroying us.

He has established a peculiar regulation for the treatment of American privateers, barbarously ordering their crews to be hanged; he has forbidden the observance towards us of the Spanish naval ordinance, established in conformity with the laws of nations, and he has denied every thing to us which we invariably allow to his subjects captured by our cruisers. He sent his generals with decrees of pardon which they caused to be published, with no view but to deceive the simple and ignorant, in order to facilitate their entrance into cities and towns; but giving at the

same time private instructions, authorizing and commanding them, after having thus obtained possession, to hang, burn, sack, confiscate, assassinate, and to inflict every possible suffering, on such as had availed themselves of such supposititious pardons. It is in the name of Ferdinand of Bourbon, that the heads of captured patriots have been stuck up on the highways; that a distinguished partizan leader has been actually impaled; and that the monster Centano, after having murdered colonel Gamargo in the same manner cut off his head, and sent it as a present to General Pesuela, informing him that it was a miracle of the *Virgin del Carmen*.

It has been by a torrent of evils and bitter afflictions, such as these, that we have been compelled to take the only course that remained to us. We reflected deeply on our situation, and future fate, and turning our eyes to every quarter, we were unable to see any thing but the three elements, of which it must necessarily be composed, opprobrium, ruin, and abject submission. What could America expect from a king, actuated at the very moment of seating himself on the throne by sentiments so inhuman? Of a king, who, previous to commencing his devastations, hastened to prevent the interposition of any other prince to restrain the effects of his insensate fury? Of a king, who has no other rewards but chains and gibbets, for the immense sacrifices of his Spanish subjects in releasing him from captivity?—subjects, who, at the expence of their blood, and of every privation, have redeemed him from a prison, in order to bind his temples with a crown! If those men, to whom he owed so much, thus received death, were doomed to perpetual imprisonment, or to base slavery, for no other crime than that of having framed a constitution, what might we not expect to be reserved for us? The hope for a benign treatment from him, and from his bloody ministers, would have been to seek among tigers for the mildness of the dove.

Then, indeed, would have been repeated towards us the ensanguined scenes of Caraccas, Carthagena, Quito, and Santa Fee; we should then have spurned the ashes of the eighty thousand persons who have fallen victims to the fury of the enemy, and whose illustrious manes with justice call for revenge, and we should have

merited the execrations of every succeeding generation, condemned to serve a master always disposed to ill-treat them, and who by his nullity on the sea has become too impotent to protect them from foreign invasion.

We, therefore, thus impelled by the Spaniards, and their king, having declared ourselves independent, and in self-defence against tyranny, have staked our honours, our lives, and our fortunes. We have sworn before the Supreme Judge of the Universe, that we will never renounce the cause of justice; that we will not permit the country which he gave us, to be buried beneath ruins, and submerged in blood by the hands of executioners; that we shall never forget the obligations that we owe to save her from the dangers which threaten her, nor the sacred right to require of us all necessary sacrifices to prevent her from being soiled by the foul footsteps of tyrants and usurpers. This declaration is engraved on our hearts, that we may never cease to combat in her cause. And at the same time that we unfold to the world the motives that have impelled to this step, we have the honour to make known our desire of living in peace with all, and even with Spain herself from the moment she thinks proper to accept our offer.

Given at the Congressional Hall in Buenos Ayres, 25th of October, 1816.

Dn. Pedros Ignacio de Castro y Banos,
President.

Jose Euginio de Elias,
Secretary.

EXPOSITION

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT

OF THE

United Provinces of South America,

DURING THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

THE evils which had in succession since the year 1810, occasioned our calamities and retarded the progress of our sacred cause, appear to have all conspired to assail us at the same moment, threatening to reduce our political existence to its last agonies, towards the close of 1815. The few remaining forces which we had saved from the unhappy field of Sipesipe, seemed to be on the point of dissolution. The army which had been organized in the province of Cuyo, for the purpose of marching upon Chili, beheld itself insecure, even in its entrenchments. The enemy, proud of his victories, had already laid his plans to entrammel the inhabitants of those districts, who were distracted by opposite councils, and who dared not indulge a hope that, through our means, they might be shielded from the impending dangers. The national treasury was not only inadequate to the satisfaction of the demands upon it, but even to provide for the most urgent wants. The public spirit of the different provinces, had lost sight of the common danger, and occupied itself exclusively, in the visionary project of seeking liberty, *in the dissolution of every tie*. Discord had taken possession of all hearts, expelling every generous and honourable sentiment. The citizens of the same land displayed their valour only in mutual destruction or distrust; assailing their best friends and benefactors. Subordi-

nation amongst the military was disregarded by the lowest subalterns. The public authorities were only respected as they gave countenance to crime, to error, to licentiousness. It grieves me, fellow-citizens, to speak of it, but I must be faithful to truth, when I undertake to trace the revolting picture, which our country then exhibited to the contemplation of the world. The acknowledgement of our errors can bring upon us no disgrace, when made with the virtuous resolution of correcting them; nor am I the first friend of his country who has deplored our past melancholy situation. Pardon me, therefore, if I proceed. Calumny with her baleful train had seated herself in the midst of us, scattering her poisons through the minds of our most respectable fellow-citizens. The capital of the state, which, in the midst of the most trying difficulties, had preserved a certain dignity of character, now appeared to be the focus of all the passions, which distracted every part of the country. Fractions of every party were here encountered in a state of the utmost exasperation; while the imminence of the public dangers, served but as the pretext for the indulgence of mutual revenge; accusing one another with the origin of the general distresses, and breathing, mutually, the most injurious suspicions.

The magnanimous people of Buenos Ayres, to whom the praise cannot be denied, of having impoverished themselves in affording aid to brethren engaged in the same glorious cause, were on the point of experiencing a re-action, whose consequences would have proved radically destructive to the character and existence of La Plata; ANARCHY, IN A WORD, HAD LIGHTED UP A UNIVERSAL CONFLAGRATION. Nor was this all; when now it might have been supposed that the measure of our afflictions had been full, the troops of Portugal made their appearance on the northern borders of this river, availing themselves of our discords; for these unhappily, unknown to ourselves, had but too well seconded the interests of the neighbouring court. New dangers here presented themselves; new occasions to sow discords; and a new impulse was given to the torrent of personal enmities; rendering even loyalty suspicious. It is no easy task, fellow-citizens, to draw a just picture of our misadventures, or to enumerate the

perils over which your firmness has happily triumphed. You all remember that the evils which thus assailed us, began to diminish at the very moment when we had yielded to despair. The SUPREME CONGRESS, into whose hands the people had confided their safety, had just been installed at Tucuman. Those who were called upon to be the legislators of their country, and to fix its destiny, by the wisdom of their councils, were compelled more than once to exert their courage, and to encounter with intrepidity the dangers which threatened to profane this last asylum, that remained to our country in its misfortunes. The prudence, the integrity, the fortitude of this august body, presented to the Provinces the delightful spectacle of an authority which captivated their submission, not less by the just title of its elevated origin, than by the animated zeal, and vigorous energy which it displayed, in the first steps of its illustrious march. The boldest passions were compelled to renounce their extravagant designs; and if in some districts they had the temerity to attempt new excesses, the celerity with which they were suppressed, scarcely allowed time to their authors to sue for mercy. The seditious, notwithstanding, still harboured the design of putting vigilance to sleep, in order that they might snatch the opportunity of insulting whatever was most respectable. It was at this crisis that the SUPREME REPRESENTATION, deigned to invest me with the honourable, but awful, distinction of SUPREME DIRECTOR of the state. This was not the first time I had been clothed with authority; and that I had already experienced the bitter mortification attendant upon it, was too well known, not to regard my acceptance as a sacrifice. At that time a member of the supreme body, I knew well the mass of difficulties that would weigh upon me; but even these, in the midst of anxiety and fears, urged my submission to the supreme will.

I had no right to expect that my elevation would meet the approbation of every one; and the calamity of the times caused me to fear that my election might give rise to new disturbances. The result did not disappoint my forebodings. I saw myself compelled to subdue the hearts of my personal enemies: but I now considered my person as exclusively devoted to the public

cause. Invested with the chief magistracy, I set off from the bosom of the supreme congress, for the province of Salta, and had the good fortune to compose the loud dissentions which had set at variance the citizens and the soldiers; and having prepared the elements which afterwards procured for the Saltenos their well earned fame, I proceeded to the army, examined its situation, inspected the fortifications; and, giving such orders as the occasion might require, I returned to Tucuman, *where I had the proud satisfaction of hastening, by my influence, the memorable act and solemn* DECLARATION OF OUR INDEPENDECE. I pursued my journey to the capital of Cordova, where, according to previous arrangement, I was expected by general San Martin, in order to settle the places for securing Chili from the power of the Spaniards. From Cordova, with what painful inquietude did I stretch my view towards the agitated population of Buenos Ayres! I appeal to you, fellow-citizens, if my fears were not too well grounded; and permit me (passing by the perils of my transit) to fix your attention on the first days of my arrival in this capital. What violence of passions! What discordant interests! My resolution was taken. I hastened to fulfil the obligations of my oath. I announced to the people that the past should be forgotten—that those who deserved well of their country should be rewarded.

Fellow-citizens, I have not failed in my promises, nor shall I ever have reason to repent me of my conduct. To this course, and to your virtues, it is due, that the constituted authorities have been supported in despite of the boldest innovators; to this, am I to attribute the reconciliation of those, who before regarded themselves, as having reason to be my enemies: to this, to say all in a word, it is due, that obedience to the lawful authorities, and the love of order, constitute at present, the prevailing temper of the Provinces, over whose destinies I have the honour to preside as chief magistrate. It were a presumptuous folly to assert, that this has been established on foundations that are proof against every attempt; the present age offers but too many examples of how fallible, in these particulars, are all political institutions. But how disgraceful ought we to consider the conduct of those, who meditate a repetition of those mournful scenes in our country!

It is proper to hope, that in future, restless spirits will be more easily repressed, than in the earlier part of the present administration. Then it was, that the spirit of anarchy claimed our first attention; yet, we were by no means free from other assailants, whom it was necessary to oppose with our utmost efforts. The interior provinces were threatened by the near approach of the enemy, with a more numerous and effective force than had ever been brought into the field; to concentrate our own was impossible, from the want of means to transport them hundreds of leagues, and from their already occupying posts from which they could not be spared. Moreover, I experienced the most painful embarrassment of mind, when compelled to choose between two extremes equally perilous: to abandon the districts of the interior, and the army which covered them, to the utmost hazard, or to desist from the attempt to reconquer Chili, exposing the province of Cuyo to subjugation. I at length adopted the course inspired by courage, baffling the plans of the enemy's generals, Serna and Marco. The patriot army, against which that of Lima was intended to operate, was rapidly reinforced, the discipline and subordination, which had been lost during the periods of our reverses, were in a short time restored. Its present strength, respectability, and efficiency, is known to you, in common with the rest of our fellow-citizens, and more would you have seen, if the enemy who now flies before us, beaten and humbled, had not encountered a rampart of loyalty and valour in the province of Salta. The army of Cuyo, not surpassed in firmness by that of Peru, maintained its ground, until regiments were marched from Buenos Ayres to its reinforcement. New regiments were created with a rapidity almost incredible, through the noble devotedness and generous liberality of that Province, in order to accelerate the final preparations, for setting on foot the stupendous design which had been formed, of scaling the Andes, whose successful issue will afford to other nations, some means of estimating the respectability of our power, as it has struck terror into the minds of our enemies, has kindled gratitude in the hearts of our brethren in Chili, and erected the most splendid monument to the power and glory of our country.

The army of this capital was organized at the same time with

those of the Andes and of the interior; the regular force has been nearly doubled, the militia has made great progress in military discipline, our slave population has been formed into battalions, and taught the military art, as far as it is consistent with their condition. The capital is under no apprehension, that an army of ten thousand men can shake its liberties, and should the Spaniards send against us thrice that number, ample provision has been made to receive them.

Our navy has been fostered in all its branches; the scarcity of means under which we laboured until now, has not prevented us from undertaking very considerable operations with respect to national vessels; all of them have been repaired, and others have been purchased and armed, for the defence of our coasts and rivers. Provision has been made, should necessity require it, for arming many more, so that the enemy will not find himself secure from our reprisal, even upon the ocean.

Our military force, at every point which it occupies, seems to be animated with the same spirit: its tactics are uniform, and have undergone a rapid improvement from the science and experience which it has borrowed from warlike nations. Our arsenals have been replenished with arms, and a sufficient store of cannon and munitions of war have been provided to maintain the contest for many years, and this, after having supplied articles of every description to those districts, which have not as yet come into the union, but whose connexion with us has been only intercepted by reason of our past misfortunes.

Our legions daily receive considerable augmentations from new levies; all our preparations have been made, as though we were about to enter upon the contest anew. Until now the vastness of our resources were unknown to us, and our enemies may contemplate with deep mortification and despair, the present flourishing state of these Provinces after so many devastations.

The office of major-general has been re-established, for the purpose of giving a uniform direction to our armies, in order to foster the militia in all its details, and to regulate the system of military economy. The general officers, and those of a lower rank, occupied in those duties, will lighten the labours of the

government, at the same time rendering more practical the progress and improvement of which the military force is susceptible, thus forming by degrees, a body of expert soldiery, who will, at once be an honour to their country and serve as its firmest pillar in times of danger.

Whilst thus occupied in providing for our safety within, and preparing for assaults from without, other objects of solid interest have not been neglected, and which hitherto were thought to oppose insurmountable obstacles.

Our system of finances had hitherto been on a footing entirely inadequate to the unfailing supply of our wants, and still more to the liquidation of the immense debt which had been contracted in former years. An unremitted application to this object has enabled me to create the means of satisfying the creditors of the state, who had already abandoned their debts as lost, as well as to devise a fixed mode, by which the taxes may be made to fall equally and indirectly, on the whole mass of our population; it is not the least merit of this operation, that it has been effected in despite of the censures with which it was assailed, and which are but little creditable to the intelligence and good intentions of their authors. The result has been, that there now circulates in the hands of the capitalists, a sum, equivalent in its value to one million of dollars, which was deficient before the adoption of the measures by which it was produced. To the same measures are we indebted for the receipt of two hundred and sixty-eight thousand dollars, in the treasury of the custom-house, in the short time which has elapsed since my decree of the 29th of March. At no other period have the public exigencies been so punctually supplied, nor have more important works been undertaken.

The people, moreover, have been relieved from many burdens, which, being partial, or confined to particular classes, had occasioned vexation and disgust. Other vexations, scarcely less grievous, will, by degrees, be also suppressed, avoiding as far as possible a recurrence to loans, which have drawn after them the most fatal consequences to states. Should we, however, be compelled to resort to such expedients, the lenders will not see themselves in danger of losing their advances. *To shew these prac-*

tical results is to make the best reply to censure; if it be the intention to do justice to the zeal and intelligence of public officers, the inconveniences and difficulties must be weighed with the good that has been effected. It is an idle vanity to seek perfection in the labours of man.

One of the mischiefs attendant on the administration of the national treasury, was the existence of many superfluous offices; with respect to this, the proper reformations have been made, especially in relation to the armouries and public works. The attention of the government is continually alive in this branch of its duties, and it is not without hopes of being able to see abundance restored, even in the midst of the unceasing attention required by war, and of the many undertakings that have been set on foot for the advancement of the general prosperity.

Such has been the extension of our southern frontier, over plains and deserts, well adapted to the formation of wealthy settlements; a project, whose accomplishment was not in the reach of former governments, in spite of repeated attempts to subdue obstacles which the present administration has had the good fortune to surmount. The unfortunate inhabitants of our plains, have not only been gratuitously supplied with suitable lands, on which to fix their habitations, but have been furnished with the means of cultivating them to advantage.

Such has been the re-establishment of the college heretofore named San Carlos, but hereafter to be called THE UNION OF THE SOUTH, as a point designated for the dissemination of learning to the youth of every part of the state, on the most extensive scale, for the attainment of which object, the government is at the present moment engaged in putting in practice every possible diligence. It will not be long before these nurseries will flourish, in which the liberal and exact sciences will be cultivated, in which the hearts of young men will be formed, who are destined, at some future day to add new splendour to our country.

Such has been the establishment of a military depot on our frontier, with its capacious magazine, a necessary measure to guard us from future dangers, a work, which does more honour to the prudent foresight of our country, as it was undertaken in the moment

of its prosperous fortunes, a measure which must give more occasion for reflection to our enemies, than they can impose upon us by their boastings.

This exposition is not made with a view to enhance the value of these services, which our country has a right to demand as a debt, but to offer an irrefragable proof to the people, that prudence and circumspection are the virtues which are required, to secure the fruits of their heroic efforts. For the rest, reflecting minds, calculating the labours of the government, by the immense disparity between the present state of our affairs, and what it was fifteen months ago, will do justice to the zeal which has effected changes so important. They will no less give credit for many other acts, of a nature to manifest themselves less fully to the public. I have already mentioned the difficulties which embarrassed me, in respect to our exterior relations, and, if I had opposed less firmness in resisting the violence of party, a breach with a neighbouring nation would have been the inevitable consequence. The course pursued by me, in this particular, leaves unimpaired our right to the invaded territory, convinced, that pacific measures, so long as the honour of the country requires no other, will be productive of more salutary effects, than a resort to violence, without necessity.

A period there has been, you will remember, fellow-citizens, in which the provinces were threatened with the sight of the nascent order and tranquillity subverted, under pretexts of the most injurious suspicions against the constituted authorities. It was that period which occasioned more trouble to my mind, than any other during my administration. I will cheerfully renounce my claims to the public gratitude, for the sleepless nights spent in watching over its safety, if it will appreciate the sacrifice I have made, the pain it has given to my heart, to have been compelled to adopt the rude and violent measures, which at that crisis saved the state from ruin. But the necessity and justice of my proceedings, and the happy consequences which have attended them, leave me no room to repent.

Under the same circumstances, my conduct shall be the same. I will extinguish all the natural feelings of my heart, sooner than

consent to the repetition of scenes, which weaken our power, and sink our national glory to the lowest degradation.

Fellow-citizens, we owe our unhappy reverses and calamities, to the depraving system of our ancient metropolis, which, in condemning us to the obscurity and opprobrium of the most degraded destiny, has sown with thorns the path that conducts us to liberty. Tell that metropolis, that even she may glory in your works! Already have you cleared all the rocks, escaped every danger, and conducted these provinces to the flourishing condition in which we now behold them. Let the enemies of your name, contemplate with despair, the energies of your virtues, and let the nations acknowledge, that you already appertain to their illustrious rank. Let us felicitate ourselves on the blessings we have already obtained, and let us shew to the world, that we have learned to profit by the experience of our past misfortunes.

JUAN MARTIN DU PUEYRREDON.

Buenos Ayres, July 21, 1817.

FINIS.

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